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Author(s): A. A. MacDonell

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ART. X.—*Mythological Studies in the Rigveda.* By A.  
A. MACDONELL, M.A.

### I. *The god Trita.*

Opinions hitherto held as to Trita's nature (420-23). The forty passages in which his name occurs translated and explained (24-62): (1) Trita associated with Indra (24-38); (2) identified with the celestial steed (38-40); (3) Vrtra-slayer (40); (4) associated with the Maruts (41-45); (5) connected or identified with Agni (46-54); (6) identified with Varuna (54); (7) connected with Soma (55-58); (8) remote and hidden (59-64). Previous views untenable (65-67). The writer's view (67): accounts for all the passages translated (67-68); supported by the collateral evidence of the Rigveda (68-77). Evidence of other Vedic works and the later literature (77-80). The writer's view corroborated by comparative philology (81-84), and by the Avesta (84-88).

THE name of Trita occurs forty times in twenty-nine hymns of the Rigveda<sup>1</sup>; no single hymn, however, is addressed to him, nor is he mentioned among the Vedic deities in the ancient list of Vedic words explained by Yāska, the earliest Vedic commentator.

<sup>1</sup> The word does not appear at all in the third, fourth, and seventh books.

A considerable number of Sanskrit scholars have expressed their opinion regarding the character of Trita. But as on the one hand, being only mentioned incidentally in the Rigveda, he does not stand out with lifelike definiteness, and, as on the other hand, no monograph has been written both examining exhaustively all the passages in which he is named, and bringing together all the evidence available from every source, the original and true nature of this deity has remained involved in obscurity.

Adalbert Kuhn, in Höfer's *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache* (1846), wrote at a time when only the first eighth of the Rigveda, containing but three references to Trita, had been published. He arrives at the conclusion that "there is no doubt as to Trita and Indra being one and the same person."

Roth, in his able article entitled *Die Sage von Feridun in Indien und Iran* (ZMG. vol. ii. 1848), remarking that Kuhn, had he known more passages, would have admitted Trita to be different from Indra, infers that Trita is most probably to be identified with Vāyu, the god of wind.

Benfey is less definite in his treatise *Τριτωνίδ 'Αθάνα Femininum des Zendischen Masculinum* Thraētāna Āthwyāna (1868). He there says: "Trita is a mythical personage, to whom, as to Indra and other deities, is ascribed the destruction of the demons withholding the fertilising rain from the earth. In some passages special mention is made of the fact that Trita owes his strength for this deed to the sacred Soma draught, and in one passage Indra is described as drinking Soma with him."

Myriantheus remarks in the introduction (p. xvii.) of his essay on the Aṇvins (1876): "We learn from many passages of the Rigveda that Trita, as well as his successor Indra, was nothing else than a designation of the sky."

John Muir, not professing to give an independent opinion, but following the views of Roth, in his 'Sanskrit Texts' (vol. v. p. 117; cp. also pp. 336 and 419), thus expresses himself: "Indra [is] a god who in the earlier period of

Aryan [*i.e.* Indo-Iranian] religious history either had no existence or was confined to an obscure province. The Zend legend assigns to another god the function which forms the essence of the later myth concerning Indra. This god Trita, however, disappears in the Indian mythology of the Vedic age, and is succeeded by Indra."

Ludwig, in his commentary on his translation of the Rigveda, is very doubtful regarding the nature of Trita. In a note on RV. V. 54, 2, he says "the part which Trita plays is here no clearer than elsewhere." He inclines, however, sometimes to identify this god with Vāyu and sometimes with Soma.

Bergaigne devotes a short study to Trita in his work *La Religion Védique* (vol. ii. pp. 326-330). He there identifies him in his origin partly with the celestial Agni and partly with the celestial Soma. Remarking of Trita that "in his warlike exploits he always preserves his part as a sacrificer," he concludes with the observation that "Trita, who was certainly a god, has none the less become a priest, favourite of Indra." I believe it will appear that this scholar has in some passages at least arrived at a more correct appreciation of Trita's essential nature than anyone who has hitherto treated the subject.

Pischel states his view, in *Vedische Studien* (vol. i. p. 186), that "Trita was from the beginning a god of the sea and of the waters."

Turning to the native interpreters of the Veda, we find that Yāska twice discusses the name. Commenting on RV. I. 105, 8, he remarks (Nirukta IV. 6): "This hymn was revealed to Trita buried in the well. Here there is an invocation containing a story, a verse (*rc*), and a *gāthā*.<sup>1</sup> Trita was one very proficient (*tīrnatama*)<sup>2</sup> in wisdom; or else a numeral simply may be intended, there having been three (brothers) named Ekata, Dvita, and Trita." His explanation of Trita in Nirukta IX. 25 (on RV. I. 187, 1)

<sup>1</sup> This word, as distinguished from *rc*, may refer to the refrain 'vittām me asyā rodasi.'

<sup>2</sup> This is evidently meant for an etymological explanation.

is "Indra who pervades the three regions (tristhāna<sup>1</sup> Indra<sup>h</sup>)."

Sāyana's interpretations are evidently based on these remarks of Yāska. In twenty passages he regards Trita as a seer.<sup>2</sup> In the remaining occurrences he takes the word to be an epithet, meaning 'extending through three regions' (generally trisu sthānesu tāyamāna<sup>h</sup>), which he applies to the gods Varuna, Vāyu, but most frequently to Indra or Agni, according to the sense the context seems to him to require.

The large St. Petersburg dictionary, without stating any view as to his essential nature, summarises the information supplied by the Rigveda regarding Trita to the following effect: "Trita is a Vedic god, who appears chiefly in connexion with the Maruts, Vāta or Vāyu, and Indra, and to whom, as to them, conflicts with demons such as Tvāstra, Vrtra, and others are ascribed. He is called Āptya, and regarded as dwelling in the remote distance. Several passages show the lower and probably later conception of Trita as carrying on the conflict with the demons under the guidance and protection of Indra. The name is also used to designate Varuna and Agni, and in the plural a class of gods. It also, in several cases, designates the priest who prepares the Soma."

Finally, Grassmann, without offering any definite opinion of his own, thus describes Trita as presented by the

<sup>1</sup> This also seems to be an etymological explanation from tri, three.

<sup>2</sup> The only passage (possibly also V. 41, 10) affording even the slightest grounds for supposing Trita to be a *Rsi* is I. 105, 17, where he cries to the gods for help from a well. Yāska, misunderstanding the myth, here regards Trita as a man and makes him the composer of the hymn on the principle followed by the ancient native scholars in assigning a verse or hymn to the speaker (cp. Sarvānu-kramaṇī, Introd. § 2, 4, 'yasya vākyaṃ sa ṛsiḥ'). This single statement of Yāska's may have given rise to the later view that Trita was a seer. Thus the Anukramaṇī regards him as the composer of five hymns in which his name occurs, as well as of seven others (RV. X. 1-7), in which it does not occur at all, though curiously enough it occurs twice in the next hymn (X. 8). Sāy. appears to have been struck by the absence of the name of Trita from these first seven hymns of book X, for he seizes the earliest opportunity of smuggling it in when he translates (X. i. 3) *Viṣṇur . . . paramām asyā abhi pāti trīṣyam* (*Viṣṇu* guards his, Agni's, highest third *sc.* place) by 'May Agni protect the third, *i.e.* Trita, me' (the seer of the hymn)!

Rigveda: "He is a god who probably owes his name and his worship to a pre-Vedic conception, for which reason he also appears in Zend. In the Rigveda his original nature already seems obscured, inasmuch as he occupies the background of the Vedic pantheon. So he appears, to a certain extent, as the precursor of Indra, and, like him, slays the demons and releases the pent up streams. He fans Agni, discovers him, and sets him up in houses. He bears Varuna to the ocean of Soma, and even appears as Varuna. He also appears in connexion with other gods, especially the winds and Soma. The fingers which purify Soma are called the maidens of Trita, the pressing-stones are the stones of Trita, while Soma itself is spoken of as belonging to Trita. He is described as dwelling in the remote and unknown distance. Besides this conception of Trita as of a higher god, he also appears as a subordinate deity, who performs exploits in the service of Indra, or, sunk in a well, implores the help of the gods. Finally, the name in the plural designates a class of gods, with whom Indra finds the draught of immortality."

It is evident that the foregoing views as to the nature of Trita are mostly indefinite and are altogether conflicting. Nor do any of them suggest any central idea running like a thread through the different manifestations of this deity's activity, as presented by the mythology of the Rigveda.

Such being the case, I propose to endeavour, by means of an exhaustive comparative examination of every mention of Trita in the Rigveda, and by utilizing all the evidence which can be brought to bear on the subject from external sources, that is to say, other Vedic and Sanskrit works, Comparative Philology, and the Avesta, to ascertain clearly the original and true nature of this deity.

As the utmost degree of accuracy attainable in translation is obviously necessary in such an investigation, I propose to give, in the first place, a reasoned rendering of all the passages in which the name of Trita is to be found in the Rigveda. I thoroughly agree with what Prof. Max Müller

says in his Introduction to his 'Vedic Hymns,'<sup>1</sup> as to a mere translation in the present state of our studies being of no value for the advancement of Vedic scholarship; it being necessary that the translator should also justify his rendering of every doubtful word. Otherwise, in the interpretations of even the most eminent authority, it must remain uncertain whether in any particular case the results arrived at are based on a careful sifting of all the available evidence, or, in reality, only amount to a conjecture, which, though extremely *geistreich*, may be entirely wrong. I do not, however, contemplate examining all the divergent opinions of every scholar on each difficulty. The result of such a method would probably be a thick volume, in which all the important points would become obscured.

Out of the forty times Trita is mentioned in the Rigveda, he is, speaking generally, in about three-fourths of the instances more or less intimately connected with the deities who play a part in the drama of the thunderstorm. In most of the remaining cases he is described as remote or hidden. To descend more to particulars—he is (1) sixteen times associated with Indra; (2) once mentioned alone as slayer of Vrtra; (3) once identified with a mythical celestial steed; (4) four times associated with the Maruts; (5) seven times connected or identified with Agni; (6) once identified with Varuna; (7) four times connected with Soma; (8) six times spoken of as dwelling in the remote distance or in concealment.

I propose to examine, under these eight heads, all the passages containing the name of Trita, believing that such an arrangement will conduce to greater clearness of treatment.

I. Trita is associated with Indra in the following sixteen passages:—

(1) VIII. 7 (a hymn to the Maruts), 24 :

Ānu Tritásya yúdhyataḥ  
 cúsmam āvann utá krátum,  
 ānv Índram vrtratúrie.

<sup>1</sup> Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxxii. p. ix.

They (the Maruts) re-inforced the spirit and might of Trita as he fought; they re-(inforced) Indra in the victory over Vrtra.

Trita and Indra are in this passage evidently regarded as both engaged in the conflict with Vrtra.

Sāyana here considers Trita to be 'Trita Āptya, a rājarsi.'

(2) I. 52 (Indra hymn), 4 (last half) and 5 :

*Tám vrtrahátye ánu tasthur ūtáyaḥ  
ćúsmā Índram avātá áhrutapsavaḥ.*

*Abhí svávrstim máde asya yúdhya-  
raghvír iva pravané sasrur ūtáyaḥ,  
Índro yád vajrí dhṛsámāno ándhasā  
bhinád<sup>1</sup> Valásya paridhíṅr iva Tritáḥ.*

By that Indra, in the fight with Vrtra, stood his aiders (the Maruts), the mighty, the vigorous, erect in form.

For him, as in intoxication he fought against the withholder of rain, sped aiders (the Maruts) like swift (streams) on a slope, when Indra, the wielder of the bolt, emboldened by the (plant,=Soma) juice, cleft (him), as Trita (cleaves) the fences of Vala.

The epithet, *svá-vrsti*, occurs only in this hymn (the words *svávrstim máde asya yúdhyaḥ* being repeated in stanza 14), but undoubtedly refers to Vrtra. Sāyana rightly explains it as meaning 'him who has the rain as his own' (*sva-bhūta-vrsti-mantam vrtram*). *Raghvír*, the swift, may equally well refer to mares, which are regarded as particularly swift in the Rigveda, and are therefore spoken of with special frequency in comparisons.<sup>2</sup> The words *dhṛsámāno ándhasā* explain the allusion in *máde*. I consider it inadmissible to take, as Grassmann and Griffith do, the particle *iva* with Trita alone, because it is invariably used *after* the word to which it belongs in sense.<sup>3</sup> If the simile is complex, *iva* generally follows

<sup>1</sup> Cp. (9) line 4.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 231.

<sup>3</sup> See Grassmann's Lexicon, s.v. *iva*.



its first word, but occasionally the second, as here. Sāyana takes *paridhīr iva Tritáḥ* together, making Valáśya depend on *bhinát* as equivalent to an accusative! Ludwig, seeing the difficulty, translates 'when Indra... broke in pieces as it were the fences of Vala [and with him] Trita.' To have to supply the words in brackets is, however, even more forced. The ellipse of the accusative pronoun, according to my translation, is easy owing to the preceding accusative *svávrstim*, and its reference to *Vrtra* is obvious, as he is mentioned both in stanza 4 (*vrtrahátye*) and in 6, 'when thou, O Indra, didst cast down thy bolt into the jaws of *Vrtra*' (*vrtrásya yát . . nijaghántha hánvor, Indra, tanyatúm*). In any case, the poet evidently means to indicate that Indra and Trita here (as in VIII. 7, 24) perform practically the same feat, that is to say, release the pent up waters from the demon of drought. Sāyana here takes Trita to be one of the three brothers *Ekata, Dvita, Trita*, mentioned in the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa III. ii. 8, 10, a passage which he quotes both here and on RV. I. 105.<sup>1</sup>

(3) V. 86 (Indra-Agni hymn), 1 :

Índrā-Agnī yám ávatha  
ubhá vājesu mártiam,  
dr̥l̥h̥á cit sá prá bhedati  
dyumná vānīr iva Tritáḥ.

The mortal whom ye two, Indra-Agni, help in conflicts, he breaks through even strongly-guarded riches, as Trita (breaks through) the reeds.

The meaning is, that a man, aided by Indra and Agni, breaks through and thus gains strongly-guarded treasures, just as Trita breaks through the canes (regarded as a stockade inclosing the waters pent up by *Vrtra* and *Vala*), and thus releases the wealth-producing rain. This interpretation is supported by the parallel use of the expression

<sup>1</sup> See (36), p. 460.

‘the enclosures or fences of Vala’ in (2), and the employment of the same verb ‘bhid’ in both cases. There seems to be no other instance in the RV. in which the word *vānī* has the sense of reed, though the derivative meaning of ‘instrumental music’ is not uncommon. It is apparently a feminine parallel (though with change of accent) of the masc. *vānā*,<sup>1</sup> which occurs five times in the RV. with the senses ‘reed or pipe,’ ‘arrow’ (also once in RV. and commonly in Sanskrit *bānā*).

My interpretation further receives some corroboration from the collocation of the verb ‘bhid’ with other words meaning ‘reed,’ as in RV. I. 32, 8, where Vrtra is described as lying ‘broken like a reed’ (*naḍām ná bhinnām*). Pischel, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society (vol. xxxv. p. 718), takes *dyumnā* in this passage against the Pada text (which has no Visarga) as an adjective in the acc. pl. agreeing with *vānīh*, and translates ‘he breaks in pieces what is firm, as Trita the resounding reeds.’ This interpretation rests on an ingenious theory which he supports by a number of instances, that in the Veda expressions of colour are frequently applied to the cognate sound.<sup>2</sup> Ludwig translates the second half of the stanza ‘he will break through even what is firm, [obtain] as Trita what is splendid through holy choirs.’ In his commentary he inclines to the interpretation ‘he breaks out (*i.e.* obtains) strongly enclosed splendour like Trita (Soma) the voices.’ But what either of these interpretations may mean, is not clear. Sāyana, who has alternative explanations, says ‘as Trita, a Rsi, refutes the arguments of opponents, or else, as Agni abiding in three places (*trisu sthānesu vartamānaḥ*) the speeches of his adversaries.’

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *naḍā*, ‘reed’ (अप. लेय. in RV.) and ‘music,’ *nāḍī*, ‘pipe’ (अप. लेय. in RV.).

<sup>2</sup> I do not think that in one of these cases, the ‘brightness’ of laughter, loudness was really suggested to the Indian mind, but only whiteness (*viz.* that of the shining teeth). Mallinātha, for example, commenting on Meghadūta 50 and 58 expressly says that the basis of comparison in similes connected with laughter is whiteness (*dhāvalyād dhāsatvenotprekshā*), this being a well established convention of poets (*hāsadinām dhāvalyam kavisamayāsiddham*). See Sāhityadarpana, 590a, and cp. Wilson’s Hindu Theatre, vol. ii. p. 197.

(4) X. 8 (Agni hymn<sup>1</sup>) 7 :

Asyá Tritáh krátunā, vavré antár  
icchán dhītim pitúr évaiḥ párasya,  
sacasyámānaḥ pit(a)rór upásthe,  
jāmí bruvāná áyudhāni, veti.

By his (Agni's) might Trita, within his lurking-place seeking a prayer to (his) supreme father<sup>2</sup> in his wonted way, being cherished in the lap of his parents, calling the weapons akin, goes forth.

The first three words have a parallel in (18) 'yásya Tritó ví ójasā,' where the relative refers to the Soma draught which inspired Trita for the combat with Vrtra. Again, in (6), we read 'asyá Tritó nu ójasā,' where Trita, strengthened by the might of Agni, slays the boar (= Vrtra) with his bolt. The words vavré antár seem to refer to the same circumstances as kúpe ávahitaḥ, 'buried in the well,' in (36). There, however, he prays to the gods, here he wishes to pray to his father, as he usually does (evaiḥ). The supreme father is Dyū.<sup>3</sup> The two parents are heaven and earth.<sup>4</sup> This is the only occurrence of the denominative verb sacasya, presupposing a neuter abstract noun which is not quotable, derived from the root sac, to tend. In the lap of his parents (*i.e.* Dyū and Prthivī) would mean in the cloud<sup>5</sup> from which he issued, being practically the same as vavré antár. Calling the weapons, *i.e.* the bolts which are produced from the sky, akin, simply means claiming them as belonging to his father Dyū, as they are in the next stanza spoken of as paternal<sup>6</sup> (pítryāni). Trita is in fact preparing for

<sup>1</sup> In which the deity, according to the Anukramanī, of stanzas 7 to 9 is Indra.

<sup>2</sup> With the construction of the words icchán dhītim pitúr, cp. the first line of (29) utá vaḥ çāmsam uçijām iva çmasi.

<sup>3</sup> Commonly but inconsistently spoken of in the nominative form Dyaus. See 448 and cp. X. 45, 8 (where Dyū begets Agni), and cp. p. 437 (where the son and the supreme name of the father are contrasted).

<sup>4</sup> See III. 2, 2; III. 25, 1, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Called the udder of Prçni in (19).

<sup>6</sup> In RV. VI. 44, 22, Soma, in alliance with Indra, is described as appropriating the weapons of his father (áyam svásya pitúr áyudhāni Indur amuśnāt) in order to vanquish the demon Pani.

the conflict with *Vrtra*. Sāyana here regards *Trita* as a *Rsi*, Ludwig as *Vāyu*.

(5) *ib.* 8 :

Sá pítirāny āyudhāni vidván  
 Īndresita Āptió abhy āyudhyat.  
 Triçĩrsānam saptáraçmim jaghanván  
 Tvāstrasya cin níh sasrje Tritó gāh.

(5a) *ib.* 9 :

Bhúríd Īndra udínaksantam ójo  
 ávābhinat sátpatir mányamānam.  
 Tvāstrasya cid Viçvárūpasya gónām  
 ācakrānás trīni çĩrsá párā vark.

He, *Āptya*, knowing (his) paternal weapons, urged by *Indra*, fought against (the demon). Having smitten the three-headed, seven-rayed (*Tvāstr*), *Trita* has released the cows of the son of *Tvastr*.

*Indra*, the mighty lord, rent him who strove for great power (and) deemed himself (mighty). He has struck off the three heads of *Viçvarūpa*, the son of *Tvastr*, taking possession of (his) cows.

8. *Trita* now engages in the fight, here as the chief combatant, *Indra* merely urging him on. That the name of the demon of drought slain by him, *Viçvarūpa Tvāstra*, is merely a variation for *Vrtra*, is sufficiently clear from the fact that he is three-headed, like the corresponding demon in Avestan mythology.<sup>1</sup> He is called seven-rayed, doubtless because the demon of drought is a personification of the baneful form of the celestial fire or lightning, being called 'ahi,' from the resemblance of forked lightning to a serpent.<sup>2</sup>

9. It is to be noted that exactly the same feat is here attributed to *Indra*, as to *Trita* in the preceding stanza.

<sup>1</sup> SBE., vol. iv. p. lxiii. (§ 12).

<sup>2</sup> In I. 146, 1, *Agni* is called three-headed, seven-rayed (*trimūrdhānam saptaraçmim*). Cp. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, I. p. 532, who conjectures that *Viçvarūpa* is the moon, and that his father *Tvastr* is the sun (pp. 513-30).

(6) X. 99 (Indra hymn), 6 :

Sá íd dāsam tuvīrávam pátir dán  
 sa/aksám triçīrsānam damanyat.  
 asyá Tritó nu ójasā vṛdhānó  
 vipá varāhám áyoagrayā han.

He, the lord of the house, subdued the loudly-roaring, six-eyed, three-headed fiend. Strengthened by his might, Trita smote the boar with iron-pointed bolt.

It is to be observed that though this obscure and late hymn is by the Anukramanī assigned to Indra, and the matter of its last four stanzas is certainly appropriate to him, the name Indra occurs only in the concluding stanza, the fourth Pāda of which is identical with the last line of the Agni hymn, X. 20. The last stanza may therefore be a later addition. Again, both pátir dán,<sup>1</sup> in the only two other passages<sup>2</sup> where it is to be found in the singular,<sup>3</sup> and dāmpati in all its occurrences in the singular,<sup>3</sup> refer to Agni. Grhāpati, lord of the house, is also a regular epithet of Agni. The evidence, therefore, favours the view that the first two lines refer to Agni, who is called 'Vṛtra-slayer' (see p. 472) more frequently than any other god except Indra. In this case the words, 'asyá Tritó nu ójasā' would be parallel to 'asyá Tritáh krátunā' in (4). If Indra is after all intended by the first two lines, he and Trita would in this stanza both be represented as performing the same feat as they perform in (5) and (5a). 'Asyá Tritó nu ójasā' would then be parallel in sense to 'Índresita' in (5). The epithets triçīrsan and sa/aksa are both applied to Tvāstra in ÇB. I. 6, 3, 1 and to (Agni) Narāçamsa in

<sup>1</sup> This word occurs five times in the RV. always preceded by pati, and always at the end of a tristubh-Pāda. There can, therefore, be no doubt that the parts of the compound 'dam-pati' have been transposed for metrical reasons. 'Dan' stands for 'dam' (which, as an inflected word, occurs only once in the RV.) by the euphonic rule, which changes final radical m to n (cp. Whitney's Sansk. Gr. § 143a).

<sup>2</sup> RV. I. 149, 1, and I. 153, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Pati dán and dāmpati mean either 'husband and wife,' or refer, in each case once, to the Açvins.

MS. IV. 13, 8.<sup>1</sup> That the boar is no other than *Vṛtra* is shown by I. 61, 7, where it is said that Indra 'pierced the boar<sup>2</sup> while shooting through the mountain' (=cloud).<sup>3</sup> The word *tuvi-rāva* occurs only here, but its meaning is undoubted owing to the frequency of 'tuvi-' or 'tuvī' as the prior member of a compound with the sense of 'much, mighty.' The word 'vip,' though often used in other senses, does not appear except in this passage to mean 'bolt'; but as derived from the root *vip*, 'to quiver,' and accompanied by the attribute 'iron-pointed,'<sup>4</sup> it cannot but have this signification.

(7) X. 48 (Indra hymn), 2 :

Ahám Índro ródho vákso Átharvanas  
Tritáya gá ajanayam áher ádhi,  
ahám dásyubhyaḥ pári nr̥mnám á dade  
gotrá ṣiksan Dadhicé Mātariṣvane.

I, Indra, (am) the protection (and) the breast-plate of Atharvan. For Trita I produced cows from the dragon. I from the fiends took their manly might, giving the cowstalls to Dadhyañc (and) Mātariṣvan.

Indra, speaking in the first person, is here again represented as assisting Trita to obtain the cows or fertilizing waters from the demon of drought. He performs a similar service for Dadhyañc (the son of Atharvan) and Mātariṣvan, who are elsewhere described as bringing down the celestial fire to earth, and who are, as I hope to show in a subsequent paper, very intimately connected with the original nature of Trita. Sāyana thinks Trita is here the Trita Āptya who had fallen into a well (with reference to RV. I. 105, 17). He also quotes a story from the *Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* to the effect that Indra struck off the head of Dadhyañc for revealing to the Aṇvins the secret where Soma was concealed.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Hillebrandt, V.M. p. 531-2.

<sup>2</sup> In the preceding stanza (I. 61, 6) Indra is said to have 'reached the vitals of *Vṛtra* with the bolt.'

<sup>3</sup> *Vidhyad varāhām tiró ádrim ástā.*

<sup>4</sup> In I. 52, 8, the bolt of Indra is said to be 'made of iron' (*āyasā*).

(8) II. 11 (Indra hymn), 19 :

Sánema yé ta ūtibhis táranto  
viçvāḥ spṛdha áriena dásyūn,  
asmábhiām tát Tvāstrām Viçvárūpam  
árandhayaḥ sākhiásya Tritáya.

That we, overcoming all our foes by thy aids, (and) the barbarians by Āryan prowess, might prosper, therefore for our benefit thou didst deliver over Viçvárūpa, the son of Tvastr, to the Trita of (thy) friendship.

(9) *ib.* 20 :

Asyá suvānásya mandínas Tritásya  
ní Árbudam vāvrđhānó<sup>1</sup> astaḥ.  
Ávartayat súrio ná cakráṁ :  
bhinád Valám<sup>2</sup> Ýndro ángirasvān.

He cast down Arbuda, having been strengthened by that gladdening Trita who pressed Soma (for him). Like the sun he caused his wheel to whirl: Indra, attended by the Ángirasas, rent Vala.

In the first of these two stanzas we find Indra again, as in (5), (7), and possibly (6), aiding Trita in his conflict with the drought fiend. In the second stanza it is Indra who, encouraged by the Soma-pressing Trita, slays the demons Arbuda and Vala. Similarly in (1) and (5) and (5a) both Trita and Indra perform the same feat.

I take 'tat' to be the neuter adverb meaning 'therefore,' as correlative to the final sense latent in the relative (=yad or yena vayam). 'Āryena,' as balancing 'ūtibhiḥ,' and used in the singular, seems to require an abstract sense, which, however, is nowhere among its numerous occurrences given to it either in BR. or in Grassmann. Otherwise it must be understood to have a collective meaning 'by the Āryans' = 'by our Āryan forces.' Though the word 'sākhyā' occurs in this passage only, there can surely be no doubt that it is the abstract formed from 'sakhi' like the frequent 'sakhya.'

<sup>1</sup> Cp. vṛdhānāḥ in (6).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. (2) last line.

Ludwig, however, analyses it into *sa + ākhyā*, meaning 'resembling.' His interpretation seems to me to be very forced. He thinks the statement that 'Indra delivered over the son of *Tvastr* to *Trita*,' makes no sense. But, in the light of the passages we have already considered, it will probably be admitted to make extremely good sense. By helping *Trita* to release the cows of *Tvāstr* or the pent-up waters, *Indra* produces fertility and thereby wealth.<sup>1</sup> The rather curious use of the genitive 'to the *Trita* of (his) friendship'<sup>2</sup> is equivalent to an attribute dative, '*sakhye Tritāya*,' 'to his ally *Trita*.' The participle '*suvānā*' (from the root *su*, 'to press') is frequently used, but always, except in this passage, with a passive sense. This is probably the reason why *Bergaigne* here wishes to identify *Trita* with *Soma*.<sup>3</sup> But the collateral form of this present participle '*sunvānā*' is, except in one instance, used in the active sense. It will also, I think, become sufficiently evident that *Trita* is always distinguished from *Soma* in all the passages yet to be examined in which the two deities are associated.<sup>4</sup> The genitive I make dependent on *vāvrđhānāḥ*,<sup>5</sup> 'elated by,' construed as a verb of rejoicing.<sup>6</sup> 'Like *Sūrya* he caused his wheel to whirl,' doubtless simply means 'he sped to the combat on his car as swiftly as the sun speeds on his.'<sup>7</sup> *Sāyana* suggests as one interpretation that *Indra* 'whirled his discus (with the later meaning of *cakra*) as swiftly as the sun turns his chariot-wheel.' He interprets '*Tritasya*' as 'for the sake of *Trita*,' and '*suvānasya*' by '*sutavataḥ*,' 'having pressed *Soma*.' According to him *Trita* in both these stanzas is a *Maharṣi*. In support of the statement in (8) that *Indra* slew *Viçvarūpa Tvāstra* he quotes *TS. II. 5, 1*.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of (8) is parallel to that of (3).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *Indrasya sakhyāya* in (15).

<sup>3</sup> *Rel. Véd. vol. ii. p. 327*: 'Le nom de *Trita* paraît même être au vers II. 11, 20, directement appliqué au *Soma*.'

<sup>4</sup> See (31) to (34).

<sup>5</sup> Cp. (6) *asya . . ojasā vrđhānāḥ*; also (2) *dhṛsamāno andhasā*; (18) *yasya Tritō vi ojasā*, the reference being to the effect of *Soma* in the two latter passages.

<sup>6</sup> *Tp, prī, vrđh*: *Delbrück, AIS. § 109, 2*.

<sup>7</sup> There is a reference in (20) to *Trita* riding on a car (*āvavartat . . cakriyā*).

<sup>8</sup> Cp. p. 479.



(10) VIII. 12 (Indra hymn), 16 :

Yát sómam, Indra, Vísnavi,  
yád vā gha Tritá Āptié,  
yád vā Marútsu mándase sám indubhiḥ;<sup>1</sup>

17. Yád vā, Çakra, parāvāti  
samudré ádhi mándase,  
asmákam ít suté ranā sám indubhiḥ.

If thou, o Indra, (drink) Soma beside *Visnu*, or if beside Trita Āptya, or if beside the Maruts thou rejoicest in the drops (of Soma) ;

Or if, o Çakra, thou rejoicest in the far distance in the (aerial) ocean, delight thyself in our Soma-pressing with the drops.

The verb 'drink'<sup>2</sup> is easily supplied from 'mándase,' 'rejoice in' drops of Soma. Here (as in 9) we find Trita in his capacity of preparer of the celestial Soma, besides *Visnu*<sup>3</sup> and the Maruts, supplying Indra with the beverage which inspires him with courage for the combat with *Vrtra*. Supposing Trita were here the god Soma, according to Bergaigne's view, the juice contrasted with the deity would probably be called 'madhu,' or some such word, as so often in the ninth book.<sup>4</sup> *Sāyana* thinks Trita Āptya, 'son of waters,' is here a sacrificing *Rājarsi*.

(11) VIII. 52 (Indra hymn), 1 :

Yáthā Mánau Vivasvati  
Sómam Çakrápibaḥ sutám,<sup>5</sup>  
yáthā Trité chándā Indra jújosasi,  
áyáu mādayase sácā.

As thou, o Çakra, drankest the pressed Soma beside *Manu Vivasvat*, as thou, o Indra, lovest a hymn of praise beside Trita, (so) thou delightest in the company of the active sacrificer.

<sup>1</sup> This stanza (9) occurs without variation in the SV.

<sup>2</sup> Cp (11) where 'apibaḥ' is used in a similar collocation of words.

<sup>3</sup> *Visnu* pours Soma for Indra in X. 113, 2 also.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. however IX. 1, 9.

<sup>5</sup> The first two Pādas are identical with those of VIII. 51, 1, except that 'Sāmvaranau' is there read instead of 'Vivasvati.'

Indra here (as in 10 with *Visnu*, *Trita*, and the *Maruts*) drinks *Soma* with *Manu* *Vaivasvata*, *i.e.* in the realm of the *Fathers*, and receives a hymn of praise from *Trita*, who is both heavenly sacrificer and *Indra's* associate in his warlike exploits. The word *chándas* occurs only eight times in the *RV.*, all the occurrences, excepting this *Vāḷakhilya* passage, being in the tenth book, and nearly all in undoubtedly late hymns. The meaning of 'metrical praise' comes out clearly in nearly all the passages. I incline to take *Āyu* not as a Proper Name (though it occurs as the name of a friend of *Indra* along with *Manu*), because in parallel passages, such as (10) and *VIII.* 54, 2,<sup>1</sup> *Indra's* presence at the sacrifice of men is contrasted with his revelling with gods or *Fathers*.

(12) *IX.* 32 (*Soma* hymn), 2:

Ād īm *Tritásya yósano*  
*hárīm* *hinvanti ádribhih*,  
*índum Índrāya pītāye*.<sup>2</sup>

Then *Trita's* maidens with stones urge him the tawny, bright drop, for *Indra* to drink.

In the ninth book the ten fingers are constantly spoken of as preparing, adorning, or urging on the *Soma* juice. They are often called the maidens (*yósanaḥ*) or sisters.<sup>3</sup> In *IX.* 14, 5 they are called the daughters of *Vivasvat*, who is closely allied to *Trita*. They can, therefore, very naturally be spoken of as the maidens of *Trita*, the preparer of the celestial *Soma* for *Indra*. According to *Sāyana*, *Trita* in this and the following stanza is a *Rsi*.

(13) *IX.* 38 (*Soma* hymn), 2:

Etám *Tritásya yósano*  
*hárīm* *hinvanti ádribhih*,  
*índum Índrāya pītāye*.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* *Vāḷakhilya* 6, 2: 'As thou didst rejoice with *Samvarta* and *Kṛça*, so do thou, o *Indra*, rejoice with us.'

<sup>2</sup> This stanza occurs without variation in *SV.* *II.* i. 2, 21, 3.

<sup>3</sup> *IX.* 14, 5-7; 15, 8; 26, 5; 28, 4; 36, 3; 38, 3; 61, 7; 68, 7; 70, 4; 71, 5; 72, 2; 80, 4-5; 85, 7; 91, 1; 92, 4; 94, 4, 7, 8; 97, 23.

This stanza, being identical (excepting *etám* instead of *ád im*) with (12), requires no further comment.

(14) IX. 34 (Soma hymn), 4:

Bhúvat Tritásya márjio,  
bhúvad Īndrāya matsaráh;  
sám rūpaír ajyate hárih.

Let him (Soma) be purified by Trita, let him be intoxicating to Indra. The tawny one is adorned with hues.

In the RV. the agent of the gerundive may, as in later Sanskrit, be expressed by the genitive<sup>1</sup> as well as by the instrumental. The word 'mat-sara' ( $\sqrt{\text{mad}}$ ), in the RV. meaning 'intoxicating' only, is used exclusively with reference to Soma. Here again, as in the four preceding passages, Trita is regarded as preparing Soma for Indra. Sāyana thinks he is the seer of the hymn.

(15) IX. 86 (Soma hymn), 20:

Manīsibhih pavate pūrviáh kavír,  
nrbhir yatáh pári kóçāñ acikradat.  
Tritásya nāma janāyan mādhu ksarad  
Īndrasya Vāyóh sakhiāya<sup>2</sup> kártave.<sup>3</sup>

The ancient sage (Soma) flows clearly by means of the wise (pressers); curbed by men he has neighed around the vats. May he calling up the name of Trita pour the mead for gaining the friendship of Indra (and) Vāyu.

The second line refers to the frequent comparison of the swiftly-flowing Soma with a steed. 'Producing,' no doubt, means 'suggesting' the name of Trita, who, when Soma is to be prepared for Indra, is naturally thought of. A similar reference seems to be contained in the second half of IX. 75, 2, where it is said of Soma that 'the son assumes the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Delbrück, AIS. § 221.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. (8).

<sup>3</sup> This stanza occurs in SV. II. ii. 1, 17, 2, where *asisyadat* is read for *acikradat*, while the last two Pādas run as follows:

Tritasya nāma janayan madhu ksarann  
Indrasya Vāyuh sakhyāya vardhayan.

parents' hidden name, the third, in the luminous realm of heaven':

dádjhāti putráh pit(a)rór apīciam  
náma trtíyam ádhi rocané diváh.<sup>1</sup>

Another passage I have found in which the parents (the word being *mātārā* and not *pitārā*) of Soma are mentioned<sup>2</sup> is in the fourth stanza of the same hymn (IX. 75), where he is spoken of as illuminating his parents heaven and earth (*prarocāyan ródasī mātārā çúcih*<sup>3</sup>), a remark which may very well be due to the preceding 'pitróh' in stanza 2. The latter word is in all probability an adaptation from stanza 3 of I. 155, the last line of which is borrowed word for word, a hymn belonging to the end of book I. being almost certain to be older than one of the ninth: <sup>4</sup>

dádjhāti putró ávaram páram pitúr  
náma trtíyam ádhi rocané diváh.

'Putráh' in the latter passage refers to *Visnu*.

(16) I. 163 (hymn to the steed<sup>5</sup>), 2:

Yaména dattám Tritá enam āyunag,  
Índra enam prathamó ádhy atisthat;  
Gandharvó asya raçanám agrbhnāt,  
súrād áçvam, vasavo, nír atasta.

Him given by Yama Trita harnessed, Indra first mounted him<sup>6</sup>; Gandharva grasped his bridle. From the sun, o Vasus, ye fashioned forth the steed.

The sacrificial horse of the previous hymn (162) is in this hymn treated of as the celestial type of steeds (like *Dadhi-krāvan*). As such he may be said to be given by Yama,

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *divi rocanesu tritesu*, p. 482.

<sup>2</sup> Also IX. 9, 3; cp. V.M. p. 430. He is often called 'diváh çicuḥ'; cp. V.M. p. 354.

<sup>3</sup> In IX. 85, 12, Gandharva does the same (*prārurucad ródasī mātārā çúcih*).

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Oldenberg, *Prolegomena*, p. 263.

<sup>5</sup> That the celestial courser, as represented in this hymn, is intimately connected with the real nature of Trita, I hope to show in a subsequent paper.

<sup>6</sup> This and stanza 9, as well as I. 162, 17, show that riding was known in the time of the RV., though driving was certainly the ordinary practice. Cp. Zimmer, *AIL.*, p. 295.

who dwells in the remotest part of the heavens, the region of the departed. The etymological meaning of Yama 'the restrainer,' may also very well have been in the poet's mind. No god could so appropriately be said to get him ready as Trita, if my view of this deity's essential character is correct.<sup>1</sup> Indra as the constant associate of Trita would naturally perform some similar act, while Gandharva, the guardian of the celestial Soma, with which both Indra and Trita are so closely connected, may well be said to hold the rein. As the type of brilliant swiftness, the celestial steed might naturally be described as fashioned out of the sun. Sāyana thinks that Trita here is 'Vāyu abiding in or extending through the three regions earth, etc.'

II. Trita is once identified with the celestial horse, the type of brilliant speed.

(17) I. 163, 3 :

Ási Yamó ási Ādityó, arvann,  
 ási Tritó gúhiena vraténa,  
 ási Sóména samáyā víprkta,  
 āhús te trīni diví bándhanāni.

Thou art Yama, thou art the Sun, o steed, thou art Trita by secret operation. Thou art distinct from Soma. They say thou hast three bonds in the heavens.

Here the steed is actually identified with three of the deities with whom he is associated in the preceding stanza. With Yama he is identified probably because he comes from Yama's realm, just as in the following stanza the poet says : 'Thou appearest to me like Varuna, o steed, where they say thy highest birthplace is.'<sup>2</sup> He is identified with the Sun, which the preceding stanza stated to be the source out of which he was fashioned. The chariot of the Sun is drawn by one or more coursers, and in RV. VII. 77, 3 Sūrya is actually spoken of as a bright and beautiful steed led on by the Dawn.<sup>3</sup> Owing to his hidden working he

<sup>1</sup> See p. 467.

<sup>2</sup> Utéva me Várunaç chantsī, arvan, yātrā ta āhúḥ paramān janītram.

<sup>3</sup> See Muir, Sanskrit Texts, vol. v. p. 158.

is identified with Trita, who lurks in the cloud.<sup>1</sup> Vi-prkta is explained by both Mādhava on TS. IV. 6, 7, 1, and Mahīdhara on VS. 29, 14, as 'specially joined' (viçesena yuktaḥ), Mahīdhara adding 'mingled together, identified' (samprktaḥ, ekībhūtaḥ),<sup>2</sup> and Sāyana similarly says that vi-prkta is equivalent to sam-prkta. But this is obviously a forced interpretation, there being no analogy for such a meaning. With verbs of joining or mixing (and, in fact, more or less with all other verbs as well) the preposition vi has invariably a disjunctive sense.<sup>3</sup> Mādhava's explanation of 'samayā' is 'samaye, prāptakāle,' 'in due season,' and Mahīdhara's is 'saha.' The latter seems probable, the inst. fem. having the same sense as the acc. neut. 'samam,' and being used like 'saha' with 'viyoga' (separation from) in classical Sanskrit. Roth, in the St. Petersburg dictionary, explains the word as 'thoroughly,' and translates the passage 'thou art thoroughly distinct from Soma (the moon).' The thought in the poet's mind would thus seem to have been 'To those who understand thy secret nature thou art really the same as Trita the preparer of Soma, but though associated with thou art distinct from Soma.' What is meant by the 'three bonds' it is not possible to say with certainty. The conception of the poet may have been similar to that in the description of the mythical steed Dadhikrāvan in IV. 40, 4: 'Bound by neck, flank, and mouth this courser hastens his speed<sup>4</sup>; working mightily according to his power Dadhikrā bounds along the bends<sup>5</sup> of the paths.'<sup>6</sup> A kind of triple harness specially adapted to promote speed in a racer would thus be implied. These three bonds are in the next stanza

<sup>1</sup> kūpe (36), vavre (5).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Ludwig, vol. v. p. 384.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Delbrück AIS. p. 466.

<sup>4</sup> Ksipanim, a word occurring only here, but clearly derived from the root ksip 'to hurl or speed' (cp. ksipra, swift); according to BR. it means 'whip.'

<sup>5</sup> Probably referring to the jagged course of lightning.

<sup>6</sup> Utā syā vājī ksipanim turanyati, grīvāyām baddhō apikaksā āsāni, krātum dadhikrā ānu samtāvītuat, pathām ānkāmsi ānu āpānīphanat.

(I. 163, 4) said to be in heaven, the waters, and the sea.<sup>1</sup> Or the reference may be to the three courses or paths of Trita (*trīni*, *sc.* *yójanāni*, *Tritásya*) in (34). In I. 164, 9 the thunder-cloud is spoken of as being in these three yojanas (*trisu yójanesu*).<sup>2</sup> According to Sāyana Yama here is Agni, and Trita either Vāyu pervading three regions (*trisu sthānesu tāyamānah*) or a *Rsi* of that name. Mahidhara thinks Trita is Indra (*tristhāna Indrah*) while Mādhava takes him to be Vāyu (*trisu lokesu trāyate vistāryata iti*!).

III. We have already seen Trita frequently associated with Indra in the conflict with the demon of drought. In one other passage he is represented as slaying *Vrtra* without any reference to Indra.

(18) I. 187 (Praise of Soma<sup>3</sup>), 1 :

Pitúm nú stosam  
mahó dharmānam távisīm,  
yāsya Tritó ví ójasā<sup>4</sup>  
Vrtrám víparvam ardāyat.<sup>5</sup>

I will now praise the draught, the supporter (and) the strength of the mighty (god), by whose power Trita rent *Vrtra* joint from joint.

The genitive 'maháh' may naturally be understood to refer to Trita. The word 'ví-parva' occurs only here. BR. explain it as meaning 'jointless, *i.e.* having no vulnerable spots.' It seems more natural to take it in a proleptic sense: (struck him) so that his joints were scattered. Thus it is said elsewhere: 'Vrtra lay scattered in many places.'<sup>6</sup> The general sense is, however, in no way affected by this variation in detail. Trita here, as Indra otherwise so frequently, is described as nerved for

<sup>1</sup> *Trīni* ta āhur divi bāndhanāni, *trīni* apsú, *trīni* antáh samudré.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Haug, *Vedische Räthselfragen und Räthselfprüche*, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> 'Annastuti' according to the *Anukramanī*.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. (4) and (6).

<sup>5</sup> The same verb is used in connexion with Indra in X. 147, 2 (*Vrtram ardayah*).

<sup>6</sup> *Purutrā Vrtró açayad vyāstah* : I. 32, 7.

the conflict with *Vṛtra* by the Soma draught. Hence he is by *Sāyana* here identified with *Indra*.<sup>1</sup>

IV. *Trita* is four times associated with the *Maruts*.

(19) II. 34 (*Marut* hymn), 10 :

*Citrām* tād vo, *Maruto*, *yāma* cekite  
*Pr̥ṇyā* yād ūdhar āpi āpāyo duhúh,  
 yād vā nidé nāvamānasya, *Rudriyās*,  
*Tritām* járāya juratām, adābhiāh.

That shining course of yours, o *Maruts*, shines forth when (her) kinsmen<sup>2</sup> have milked<sup>3</sup> the udder even of *Pr̥ṇi*,<sup>4</sup> or when for the discomfiture<sup>5</sup> of him<sup>6</sup> who boasted,<sup>7</sup> o sons of *Rudra*, (and) for the wearing out of them that age,<sup>8</sup> ye, o unerring ones, (released)<sup>9</sup> *Trita*.

The translators and interpreters have made very little of this stanza. It is sufficiently clear, to begin with, that the release of the pent up waters from the rain-cloud, is referred to in the first two lines. The course of the *Maruts* may well be said to shine forth when the lightning issues from the thunder-cloud. That the udder of *Pr̥ṇi*, the rain-cloud, should be milked by her offspring the *Maruts*, is a natural enough figure. When, further, we find *Trita* in the next two lines mentioned with the *Maruts*, who, as we have already seen in (1), reinforced him in the combat with the demon of drought and who are constantly associated with *Indra* in that same conflict, we are irresistibly led to expect an allusion to a fight with *Vṛtra*. Regarded in this obvious connexion, the obscure wording of these two

<sup>1</sup> *Vistīrnatamaḥ prakhyātakīrtis trisu kṣityādīsthānesu tāyamāno 'pi Indraḥ*.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* her sons, the *Maruts* themselves.

<sup>3</sup> This change from the second to the third person is not uncommon in the RV.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* their mother, the rain-cloud. In VIII. 7, 16 the *Maruts* milk the unfailing spring (*utsam*), and in IX. 34, 5, the sons of *Pr̥ṇi* (the *Maruts*) milk *Soma*.

<sup>5</sup> Lit. reproach or blame.

<sup>6</sup> *i.e.* *Vṛtra*.

<sup>7</sup> Either from √*nu*, 'to praise,' 'of him who praised himself' (cp. *manya-mānam*, 'him who thought himself mighty' in 5), or from √*nu*, 'to shout' (cp. *tuviravam*, 'roaring mightily,' p. 430, and I. 52, 10, 'heaven reeled with fear at the roar of the dragon').

<sup>8</sup> *i.e.* the serpents (*ahi*) that cast their old skins.

<sup>9</sup> Supplying 'duha' the second pers., owing to the vocatives, from the preceding third pers. *duhúh*: lit. 'milked out,' *i.e.* elicited from the rain-cloud *Trita* who lurked in it (cp. 4 and 36).



lines yields an excellent sense. The path of the Maruts shines forth when they release the rain or when they set free Trita, who has been lurking in the udder of the cloud,<sup>1</sup> in order to defeat the fiend. Similarly in (22) the Maruts find Trita and instruct him how to help, and in (21), when the storm-gods set forth, Trita thunders. The datives and genitives 'nidé návamānasya' and 'járāya juratām' obviously balance one another. It seems preferable, though the difference of meaning is but very slight, to derive 'návamānasya' from √nu, 'to praise,' as this forms an antithesis<sup>2</sup> to 'nidé,' 'for the blame of him who praises himself' (*i.e.* of the boaster). The words 'járāya juratām' are evidently intended for a play on the verb *jr* or *jur*, and seem to contain a veiled allusion to the demons of drought as serpents (*abi*) which cast their old skins. This somewhat bold interpretation is supported by the meaning of the word *jarāyu*, the slough of a serpent. The past participle 'jūrṇa' is also used in RV. IX. 86, 44 to mean the 'cast off' skin of a snake: 'he glides like a serpent from its worn out skin.'<sup>3</sup> Ludwig, in his commentary, notes several points of importance in the interpretation of this stanza, though he fails to see their bearing on the general sense. He here regards Trita as Soma. Sāyana thinks he is a *Rsi*. Prof. Max Müller<sup>4</sup> has a long note on this stanza, but arrives at no definite conclusion as to its true meaning, which he says remains "as unfathomable as ever."

(20) *ib.* 14 :

Tāñ iyānó máhi várūtham ūtāya  
 ūpa ghéd ená námasā grñīmasi,  
 Tritó ná yān páñca hótṛñ abhístaya  
 āvavártad<sup>5</sup> āvarāñ cakríyāvase.

<sup>1</sup> In (4) he is in a lurking place (*vavre*) preparing for the conflict with *Vṛtra*, and in (36) buried in a well (*kūpe*) he prays to be released.

<sup>2</sup> This antithesis is also contained in the last stanza of this hymn: 'ye free (your) praiser from blame' (*nidó muñcátha vanditāram*).

<sup>3</sup> *Ahir ná jūrṇām āti sarpatī tvācam*.

<sup>4</sup> Vedic hymns, SBE. vol. xxxii. p. 305.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. (9).

With this adoration we praise them as Trita (did), seeking high protection for help, (them) whom as five sacrificers may he with his car whirl down for welfare (and) for favour.

We should have expected the plural 'iyānāh,' but the singular is possibly used in order to include the participial clause in the comparison 'Tritó ná.' Trita here praises the Maruts, as he praises Indra in (11), and calls upon them for help (that is to say, to release him from his lurking-place in the cloud), just as he does to his father in (4) and to the gods in (36). Trita is further besought to come down to earth with his chariot<sup>1</sup> (as in 26 he takes up his abode in the dwellings of men), bringing the Maruts with him<sup>2</sup> as five sacrificers. There is a somewhat similar allusion in stanza 12 of this hymn, where it is said of the Maruts that "they, the Daçagvas,<sup>3</sup> first offered the sacrifice."<sup>4</sup> Five hotrs are otherwise not spoken of, though seven are often mentioned. In RV. III. 7, 7, however, seven priests (viprāh) are said to guard the place of the bird (*i.e.* of Agni) with five adhvaryus.<sup>5</sup> Trita is here conceived as bringing the Maruts to take part in the sacrifice, just as Agni brings the various gods. Sāyana thinks Trita here is a *Rsi*.

(21) V. 54 (Marut hymn), 2 :

Prá vo, Marutas, tavisá udanyávo  
vayovrdho aṣvayújah párijrayah,  
Sám vidyútā dádhati. váçati Tritáh,  
sváranti ápo avánā párijrayah.

Onward (go), o Maruts, your wandering hosts, strong, abounding in water, increasing vigour, yoking steeds, while

<sup>1</sup> Cakrī, lit. 'wheel.'

<sup>2</sup> I take avarān predicatively, 'as lower (sacrificers),' *i.e.* on earth.

<sup>3</sup> A group of wind-gods, mentioned seven times in the RV., who assist Indra in battle and offer him Soma and songs of praise.

<sup>4</sup> Té Dāçagvāh prathamā yajñām ūhire. This is probably only a mythological way of saying that wind is necessary for wafting the sacrifice.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. also X. 124, 1 : 'Come, O Agni, to this our sacrifice, which has five courses, is threefold, and seven-threaded.'

they surround (him<sup>1</sup>) with lightning. Trita thunders; the waters roar wandering in their course.

The verb has to be supplied with the preposition, as is often the case in the RV. This, perhaps, accounts for the verb *dádhati* being accented in the relation of antithesis. In antithetical principal clauses, the verb of the first only is accented; but as the verb of the first is here omitted, the verb of the second has assumed the accent. This accentuation would also indicate that *dádhati* was to be construed with the preceding subject in the plural. If the reading were *dadhati*, the verb might be understood as a third pers. sing. according to the first conjugation<sup>2</sup> referring to Trita. As accented with the acute, *dádhati* cannot agree with Trita. Prof. Max Müller translates "When they aim with the lightning, Trita shouts," but he has no note.<sup>3</sup> Ludwig finds a difficulty in the construction of '*sám vidyútā dádhati*,' because *sam-dhā* never seems to be construed with the instrumental, but only with the locative in the RV. This is, however, only due to the fact that in all these instances *sam* has the intensive sense (merely strengthening *dhā*), and not the sociative. Verbs meaning 'to join' are regularly construed with the instrumental. These difficulties of the third line hardly affect the general sense of the stanza; that when the mighty storm-winds go forth, the lightnings flash, Trita thunders, the waters rush forth." Here again we find Trita playing his part in the drama of the thunderstorm, when the pent-up waters are released. His nature in fact comes out more clearly than usual, thanks to the verb '*vāçati*.' He cannot here be any other than the god of lightning. Bergaigne<sup>4</sup> admits this, though Ludwig thinks that his character is here as obscure as elsewhere, inclining, however, to identify him with Soma. Sāyana

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Trita.

<sup>2</sup> *dadhanti* and *dadhantu* each occur once, *dadhate* (3rd sing. *Ā.*), seven times in the RV. This is a beginning of the transition from the second to the first conjugation, which became fixed in the pre-Vedic period, *e.g.* in *sthā*, *tisthati* (Gr. *ἵστημι*).

<sup>3</sup> SBE, vol. xxxii. p. 325.

<sup>4</sup> Rel. Véd. II, 327.

here makes Trita out to be 'the cloud, or the host of Maruts, extending through three regions.'<sup>1</sup>

(22) X. 115 (Agni hymn), 4 :

Ví yása te jrayasānāsyājara  
dhákso ná vātāḥ pári santi ácyutāḥ,  
á ranváso yúyudhayo ná satvanám  
Tritám naçanta prá çisanta istáye.

Thee, whom far-striding like one eager to burn, o thou who agest not, the winds that stumble not, attend, they like eager warriors found as heroic Trita instructing (him) to help.

'Yasya te' I explain as equivalent to 'tvā yasya' by attraction, 'Tritam' being in apposition to this 'tvā.' The meaning of the whole stanza is : 'The warlike Maruts who constantly accompany the flaming Agni,<sup>2</sup> found him (Agni) in the form of the heroic Trita (lurking in the cloud), and instructed him to help (in the conflict with the drought-fiend).' The attribute 'satvanam' evidently refers to Trita's warlike character. Throughout this group of four passages (19 to 22), as well as in (1), it is implied that the Maruts are associated with Trita in the conflict with Vrtra, just as they are with Indra in a similar capacity. Grassmann takes 'na' to be the negative, and 'pari santi' to mean 'hinder,' translating "whom when flaming the winds do not hinder." Such a negative mode of expression seems very unnatural here, while there seems to be no evidence in the RV. that pari with as (or even bhū), and the genitive (which is extremely rare) should mean 'hinder' and not 'surround.' Ludwig takes 'na' to be 'like,' but connects it with 'acyutāḥ,' rendering 'as it were not stumbling.' That a particle which regularly follows its word, should be construed with a word coming a long way after it, would, however, be unprecedented. In his commentary he thinks it may be the negative, suggesting the translation "whom the winds do

<sup>1</sup> Trisu sthānesu tāyamāno megho marudgāno vā.

<sup>2</sup> Agni, as well as Indra, is in the RV. called marút-sakhi, 'having the Maruts for his friends.'

not overpower." He is uncertain as to the meaning of Trita. Sāyana here identifies Trita with Agni.<sup>1</sup>

V. Trita is associated or identified with Agni in six passages. Excluding these six, we have already found him identified with Agni in (21),<sup>2</sup> mentioned with Agni and Indra in (3):

(23) V. 9 (Agni hymn), 5:

Adha sma yāsyā arcāyah  
samyák samyānti dhūmínah,  
yád im āha Tritó divi<sup>3</sup>  
úpa dhmāteva dhāmati  
çíçite dhmātāri yathā.

Whose flames as he smokes then especially rise together in one direction, when Trita in the sky blows upon him like a smelter (and) sharpens (him) as in a smelting furnace.

The words 'dhmātā' and 'dhmātāri'<sup>4</sup> occur only in this passage. BR. regard the latter as a neuter. This view is supported by the distinction between sthātr as a masc. and sthātr̥ as a neut. Ludwig considers 'dhmātāri' to be a nom. masc. (without the s) meaning 'bellows.' His reasons do not seem to me to be at all convincing. Agni blown upon and sharpened in the sky obviously means lightning. In other words Trita is preparing his weapons for the fray as in (4). Ludwig thinks Trita here is Vāyu, while Sāyana identifies him with Agni, who pervades or extends beyond the three regions.<sup>5</sup>

(24) V. 41 (Viçvedevāh hymn), 4:

Prá saksáno diviáh Kánvahotā  
Tritó diváh sajósā, Váto, Agníh,  
Pūsá, Bhágaḥ prabhṛthé viçvábhojā  
Ājím ná jagmur āçúaçvatamāh.

<sup>1</sup> Tritam trisv āhavanīyādisu sthānesu tatam vistr̥tam tvām.

<sup>2</sup> And not improbably associated with him in (6) also.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. divyāh in (24).

<sup>4</sup> dhmātāri in the Pada text.

<sup>5</sup> Tritas tri-(su sthānesu ta-)to vyāptas trīni sthānāni vātītya.

Trita victorious, celestial, whose priest is Kanva, associate of Dyū, Vāta, Agni, Pūsan, all-nourishing Bhaga, have come to the offering, as those who have fleetest steeds (come) to the contest.

Saksána is to be found in this passage only, but must be identical in meaning with saksáni, which occurs three times in the RV., governing the accusative, with the undoubted sense of 'conquering.' Griffith takes the first line as referring to Indra, perhaps because saksáni is once used in connexion with Indra. But, in the first place, if Indra were meant, he would, like the other gods in this stanza, have, I think, certainly been mentioned by name, for Trita also is a heavenly conqueror. Moreover, Kánvahotā would be less appropriate to Indra than to Trita. This compound it is true occurs only here; but Kánvasakhi, 'he who has Kanva for his friend,' also occurring only once, is an epithet of Agni, who is spoken of as 'that same Agni, most Kanva-like, having Kanva for his friend.'<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that this Agni is mentioned in the stanza immediately following that in which Agni is identified with Trita (22). Trita is also identified with Agni in (26) and (27). The epithet may therefore very well be applied to Trita as a form of Agni. It is no sufficient objection to say that Trita being mentioned in the same stanza as Agni, cannot here be a form of Agni; for the sun, here represented by Pūsan, though also a form of fire, is here mentioned along with Agni as well. It may be noted that all the deities enumerated in this stanza, with the exception of Vāta, are gods of light. Ludwig and Griffith render diváh sajósāh by 'accordant with Dyaus'; but as this very frequent adjective is otherwise invariably construed with the instrumental, I have treated it as a substantive. Grassmann regarding saksáno divyáh, 'the heavenly conqueror,' as some other deity, takes Tritó diváh together as 'Trita of the sky,' and makes sajósāh an absolute adjective: 'Fire, Wind, accordant.'

<sup>1</sup> Sá íd Agníh Kánvatamaḥ Kánvasakhā: X. 115, 5.

I can find no parallel passages in support of taking *diváh* *sajósāh* with *Vāta*; while there is much in favour of these words referring to *Trita*. The latter god is here called 'divyah,' and is described in (23) as kindling lightning in heaven (*divi*). If he is a form of *Agni*, he is undoubtedly a son of *Dyu*. In (4) and (5) he prays to his father and claims his father's weapons, that is to say, the bolt which issues from the sky. All the gods here enumerated are thought of as coming to partake of the sacrifice, and vying with one another in speed, just as men who have the swiftest steeds engage in the race; for only such can expect to be successful. Instead of *prabhṛthé* construed with *prajagmuḥ*, *prabhṛthám* as parallel with *ājím* might have been expected. Ludwig thinks *Trita* here is *Soma*, or possibly *Vāyu*. *Sāyana* makes the word an attribute<sup>1</sup> of *Vātaḥ*, taking the words *Tritó diváh* *sajósā Vātaḥ* together.

(25) *ib.* 9:

Panitá Āptyó yajatáh sádā no  
várdhān naḥ çámsam nário abhístau.<sup>2</sup>

10. *Vrsno* astosi bhūmíasya gárbham

Tritó nápatam apām suvrktí:

gñite. Agnir etārī ná çūsaíh,  
çocískēço ní rināti vānā[ni].

May *Āptya* ever to be adored by us, friendly to man, when praised in (his) helpfulness bless our prayer.

I have lauded with goodly hymn the germ of the terrestrial hero, *Trita*, the son of waters: *Agni* neighs, like a swift mare, with pantings, with flaming mane he lays low the forests.

9. *Trita*, here mentioned by his frequent epithet<sup>3</sup> *Āptya*,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Trisu ksityādīsthānesu tāyamānaḥ*.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *abhístaye* in (20).

<sup>3</sup> Which *Sāyana* here, by way of a change, explains not by *apām putraḥ* but by *āptavyaḥ sarvaiḥ*, 'who is to be obtained by all.' This explanation is to be traced to *Yāska's* remark 'āptyā āpnoteḥ' (the word *āptyāḥ* is derived from the root 'āp' (*Nir.* XI. 20).

<sup>4</sup> See p. 473-4.

would naturally be called 'friendly to man' as releaser of the fertilizing waters.

10. The main difficulty of this stanza is in the words *astosi* and *Tritah*. The choice lies between accepting *astosi* as a third person singular and emending *Tritó* to *Tritám*. Ludwig, Bergaigne, and Griffith agree in rendering *astosi* as a 3rd sing. aor. with *Trita* as its subject. Grassmann, on the other hand, taking it as a 1st sing. is obliged to ignore *Trita* by emending *tritó* to *utó* (*utá+u*). If an emendation must be made, that which I propose, '*Tritám*,' is less violent, while suiting the sense admirably. The arguments against *astosi* being a 3rd sing. are very strong. Apart from the form under consideration no single instance of the 3rd sing. middle of the s-aorist in *-i* (*i.e.* s-i) can be quoted.<sup>1</sup> Again, the regular 3rd sing. aor. middle of this verb (*a-stos-ta*) actually does occur in the RV. Thirdly, the internal evidence of this hymn strongly favours the first person. In 16 of its 20 stanzas the poet refers to himself in the first person singular or plural, the verb occurring four times<sup>2</sup> in the first sing. and four times<sup>3</sup> in the first plur. Fourthly, the wording of stanza 9 'May *Āptya* praised fulfil our prayer' naturally suggests that *Trita* should be the object of the poet's praise in stanza 10. I have therefore decided in favour of reading '*Tritám*' for '*Tritó*.'<sup>4</sup> This gives the exact sense we might expect from what we already know of *Trita*'s nature. The meaning then would be 'I have praised *Trita*, the germ from which the terrestrial hero (*i.e.* *Agni* on earth) is developed, the son of waters (the well-known epithet of *Agni* in his lightning form).'<sup>5</sup> *Agni* in the last two lines as lightning is compared to a neighing<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *-i* is, of course, the regular termination of the 3rd sing. aor. *passive* (*a-stāv-i*, etc.) and *-i* coalescing with a preceding thematic *a* to *e* is common in the 3rd sing. pres. middle (*stave*, *stushe*, etc.).

<sup>2</sup> In stanzas 3, 7, 8, and 14.

<sup>3</sup> 11, 13, 16, 18.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 476, line 7.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. p. 475.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. '*Trita* roars' in (21).



mare<sup>1</sup> with flowing mane<sup>2</sup> rushing to burn down the forests. The words 'etārī ná çūsaiḥ'<sup>3</sup> present some difficulties. I have taken etārī as a feminine of \*et', courser.<sup>4</sup> The Pada text, however, reads etāri, just as dhmatāri for dhmatārī in (23). Ludwig regards this word also as a nom. masc. without s. He thinks Trita is Vāyu here, while Sāyana identifies him with Agni pervading three regions.<sup>5</sup>

(26) X. 46 (Agni hymn), 3 :

Imám Tritó bhūri avindad icchán

Vaibhūvasó mūrdhāni ághniāyāḥ;

Sá çévrđho jātá á harmiésu

nábhīr yuvā bhavati rocanásya.

Trita Vaibhūvasa eagerly seeking (him), found him on the head of the cow (=cloud); he, increaser of welfare, when born in houses becomes as a youth the centre of brightness.

The abstract personified form of the celestial Agni is here represented as endeavouring to find the lurking fire in the sky. This is a mythological way of accounting for what must in primitive times have been regarded as the remarkable fact that the fire of lightning is always hidden except when it flashes forth for a moment in the thunderstorm. The word Vaibhūvasa occurs only in this passage. It is probably derived from vibhú-vasu, 'having excellent goods,' an epithet of Soma which occurs twice.<sup>6</sup> It would then mean 'connected with Soma,' referring to Trita in his character of preparer of the celestial nectar

<sup>1</sup> Mares are regarded in the RV. as especially swift, and are, therefore, frequently referred to in similes. Cp. AIL. p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> In I. 164, 44, the Sun, Agni, and Lightning are spoken of as the three having flowing hair (trayaḥ keçinaḥ). Cp. Haug, *Vedische Räthselfragen*, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Which recur in RV. VI. 12, 4, with reference to Agni: 'By our friends that Agni, Jātavedas in the house, is praised like a fleet mare owing to his pantings (sāsmākebhīr etārī ná çūsair Agniḥ stave dāma á jātāvedāḥ).

<sup>4</sup> Cp. éta, 'swift antelope,' and éta-ça, 'steed.'

<sup>5</sup> Tritas tīrnatamas trisu sthānesv anyesu tritvāpannesu tāyamāno 'gniḥ.

<sup>6</sup> RV. IX. 72, 7 and IX. 86, 10.

or releaser of the fertilizing rain. Trita is further said to have found the hidden fire on the head of the cow,<sup>1</sup> that is to say, on the top of the cloud. Words meaning cow are, as is well-known, frequently used to denote the rain-cloud in the RV.<sup>2</sup> We have already found Trita connected with the udder of the rain-cloud in (19), while in (22) the Maruts are said to have found Agni in the form of Trita. Being the 'germ of the terrestrial' Agni, if my interpretation of (25) is correct, and having come down from his original home in the sky to earth (20), he is now said to have been produced in the houses of men as in (27). The attribute *çévrda*,<sup>3</sup> 'increaser of welfare,' is analogous in sense to *nárya* in (25). 'The centre of brightness' is a graphic expression for the 'youthful' or recently kindled Agni on the altar or the hearth. As Trita here, so the Bhrgus in the preceding stanza (X. 46, 2) are described as finding Agni in the rain-cloud: 'Worshipping, eager, seeking him with adoration, wise Bhrgus pursued him like a lost beast by its tracks and found him lurking in secret in the gathering place of the waters.'<sup>4</sup> Ludwig is of opinion that Trita is here an actual human person and that the cow is the fire-stick. Griffith thinks that he is possibly Vāyu. According to Sāyana he is a *Rsi*.

(27) *ib.* 6 :

Ní pastīasu Tritáḥ stabhūyán  
párivīto yónau sīdāt antáḥ.<sup>5</sup>  
átaḥ samgr̥bhiā viçám dāmūnā  
vídharmanā ayantraír iyate nṛn.

<sup>1</sup> á-ghnyā or a-ghnyā, 'not to be slain or injured' (√han), bears witness to the fact that even in the time of the RV. the cow was regarded in the light of a sacred animal. The word occurs sixteen times in the RV., while the corresponding masc. form is to be found three times.

<sup>2</sup> See especially *s.v.* 'go' in BR.

<sup>3</sup> For *ceva-vrda*.

<sup>4</sup> *Imām vidhānto apām sadhāsthe paçum ná nastām padaír ānu gman, gúhā cātantam uçijo námobhir icchānto dhīrā Bhṛgavo avindan.* The words *gúhā cātantam* and *padaír ānu gman* occur also in I. 65, 1.

<sup>5</sup> With this line compare 'sá mātūr yonā párivīto antáḥ,' said of lightning in I. 164, 32.

Establishing himself in houses Trita seated himself enveloped (with flames) within his abode. From hence the house-friend of settlers collecting (them) goes among men by distribution, not by (means of) bonds.

Here Trita is again spoken of as taking up his abode in the houses of men, the first line corresponding to 'jātá á harmyésu' in (26), while the second means practically the same thing as the statement in that stanza that 'he becomes the centre of brightness.' 'Párivītaḥ' no doubt means 'enveloped with flames,' the latter word being, for instance, supplied with the same participle in X. 6, 1, where Agni is described as 'shining forth surrounded with flames.'<sup>1</sup> The last two lines present difficulties which have greatly puzzled interpreters; but it is at any rate sufficiently clear that Trita, that is to say, Agni who has descended to earth, is regarded as a house-friend who visits men. The doubtful words are *samgr̥bhya*, *vidharmanā*, and *ayantraíh*. The reference may be that Agni when once established on earth as the house-friend who collects people around him, visits men for domestic purposes by means of distribution,<sup>2</sup> and not by attrition produced by cords<sup>3</sup> and employed for sacrificial purposes. According to Sāyana, Trita here is Agni distributed in three places, *i.e.* the three sacrificial fires *gārhapatya*, etc.

(28) X. 64 (Viṣvedevāḥ hymn), 3 :

Nārā vā ṣámsam Pūsānam ágohiam  
Agnīm devéddham abhí arcase girá,  
Sūryāmāsā Candrámasā Yamám diví  
Tritám Vátam Usásam Aktúm Aṣvínā.

I have praised with my song Pūsan praised of men,  
Agni who cannot be concealed, kindled by the gods, Sun

<sup>1</sup> bhānúbhiḥ . . . párivīto vibhāvā.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. X. 80, 4: Agnér dhāmāni vibhūtā purutrā, 'Agni's abodes are distributed in many places.'

<sup>3</sup> a-yantra is a ᾤπ. λεγ. but yantra occurs twice in the RV. in the sense of 'bond'; and the compound daṣayantra, 'having ten reins,' is twice (VI. 44, 24, X. 94, 8) used with reference to Soma as prepared by the ten fingers. Cp. X. 51, 3.

and Moon,<sup>1</sup> the two phases of the moon, Yama in the sky, Trita, Wind, Dawn, the (starry) Night, (and) the Aṣvins.

As this stanza contains only an enumeration of deities, nothing definite as to the nature of Trita can be gathered from it. These deities, are, however, as in (24) nearly all gods of light. Candrámasā coming after Sūryāmāsā must mean 'new and full moon.' It may be added that in three of the preceding passages (22, 26, 27), Trita is undoubtedly, and in two others (24 and 25) most probably identified with Agni. Bergaigne recognizes this identity in at least two cases (22 and 27), and Sāyana in four (22, 23, 25, 27). But the other interpreters fluctuate between Soma and Vāyu. In (27) Grassmann actually thinks the reading must be corrupt, partly because everything points to Agni being meant, and not Trita!

(29) II. 31 (Viṣvedevāh hymn), 6 :

Utá vah çámsam uçijām iva çmasi  
áhir budhuío ajá ékapād utá,  
Tritá, Rbhukṣáh, Savitá cáno dadhe  
apám nápād āçuhémā dhiyá çami.

And we desire praise of you who, as it were, are desirous (of it): the Dragon of the Deep and the one-footed Driver, Trita, Rbhukṣan, Savitr, the swiftly speeding Son of waters take delight (in us) by reason of (our) thought and work (=prayer and sacrifice).

There seems to be no other possible explanation of the form ç-masi than from the root vaç,<sup>2</sup> though this would be the only instance of its being shortened further than uç, and the 1st pers. plur. uçmási is very common in the RV. On the other hand the preceding word uçijām derived from V vaç points to çmasi being a form of that root owing to the fondness of the Vedic poets for the collocation of derivatives from the same verb.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the 1st

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Hillebrandt, V.M. p. 504.

<sup>2</sup> Ludwig thinks it is a contraction for çams-masi.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. vibhāvā vibhāti in X. 6, 2. Cp. also the fourth and fifth line of (30).

pers. sing. *vaçmi* occurs in the very next stanza. Possibly the preceding syllable *-va* of *iva* may have had something to do with the shortening. *Çami* is the shortened form of the instrumental case at the end of a line for *çamī*. As *cano dhā*, 'to find pleasure in,' otherwise always governs the accusative or locative, I supply a pronoun, the instrumental giving the reason. *Rbhuksāh* (lord of the *Rbhush*), when mentioned after *Trita* undoubtedly refers to *Indra*, though the epithet is sometimes also applied to the chief of the three *Rbhush* and to *Vāta*. *Sāyana* takes *Rbhuksāh* to be *Indra*, regarding *Trita* as its attribute meaning 'very wise.'<sup>1</sup> In this enumeration *Trita* is associated with gods all of whom are more or less closely connected with the thunderstorm.<sup>2</sup> It may be objected that *Trita* cannot here mean the celestial form of *Agni*, because *Apām napāt*,<sup>3</sup> or lightning, is mentioned with him. The answer to this is that the two deities are differentiated though essentially the same, *Trita* being regarded rather as the abstract and invisible god of celestial fire dwelling in the cloud, while *Apām napāt* is rather his manifestation. Such mythological differentiations are not uncommon among the gods of the RV., as, for instance, in the case of *Visnu*, *Sūrya*, *Savitṛ*, and *Pūsan*.

VI. *Trita* is once mentioned in the middle of a *Varuna* hymn in such a way that he seems to be identified with him.

(30) VIII. 41, 6:

Yāsmīn viçvāni kāvīā  
cakré nābhīr iva çritā,  
Tritām jūtī saparyata  
vrajé gāvo ná samyúje  
yujé áçvāñ ayuksata  
(nābhantām anyaké same).

<sup>1</sup> *Tirnatama*, a kind of etymological explanation borrowed from *Nirukta* IV. 6, where *Yāska* says 'Tritas tirnatamo medhayā babhūva.' Cp. p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Even *Savitṛ* is once (I. 22, 6) called *apām napāt*. Of *Ahīr budhnyaḥ* and *Aja ekapād* I propose to treat in a later article.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. (25) and p. 475.

In whom all wisdom is centred as the nave in the wheel, worship Trita with haste, as cows (hasten) to come together in the fold, (and as quickly as) they harness horses for yoking. (May all others perish.<sup>1</sup>)

There seems no sufficient reason to doubt that Trita is here meant to be identified with Varuna.<sup>2</sup> It may, however, be noted that Agni is once called the brother of Varuna, that Agni (as well as Sūrya<sup>3</sup>) is called Varuna,<sup>4</sup> and that the term 'navel' is most frequently applied to Agni. Thus in X. 5, 3 he is called the 'navel of all that moves and is fixed.'<sup>5</sup> In I. 141, 9 Agni is said to encompass Varuna, Mitra, and Aryaman as the felly surrounds the spokes (*arān ná nemíh*).

Sāyana regards Trita as Varuna in three regions (*tristhānam Varunam*).

VII. Trita is four times associated with Soma alone. He has already been mentioned six times<sup>6</sup> with Soma as well as other deities, and he has once (18) been described as slaying Vṛtra with the aid of the Soma draught.

(31) IX. 37 (Soma Pavamāna hymn), 4 :

Sá Tritáśyádhi sánavi  
pávamāno arocayat,  
jāmíbhīh Súrīam sahá.<sup>7</sup>

He, Pavamāna, upon the summit of Trita has caused the sun along with the sisters to shine.

The conception of Soma causing the sun to shine no doubt arises from the notion that the Soma draught inspires Indra to vanquish Vṛtra, thus clearing away the obstructing clouds and making the sunlight appear. It is only in this connection that Soma in the next

<sup>1</sup> This refrain, which has no connection in sense with the rest of the stanza, occurs throughout this, the following, and the two preceding hymns. Cp. the refrain of X. 133, 1-6.

<sup>2</sup> As to the importance of this identification cp. p. 456.

<sup>3</sup> I. 50, 6 ; IV. 1, 2.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 476.

<sup>5</sup> *viçvasya nabhim cārato dhruváya*. Cp. also (26).

<sup>6</sup> See 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17.

<sup>7</sup> This stanza occurs without variation in SV. II. 5, 2, 7, 3.

stanza (IX. 37, 5) is called 'Vrtra-slayer.' The sisters are the seven rays of the sun.<sup>1</sup> 'The summit of Trita' is only another way of expressing the 'height of heaven.'<sup>2</sup> We have already seen that Trita abides in heaven.<sup>3</sup> The celestial Soma may naturally be said to cause the sun to shine where his preparer Trita dwells. Sāyana thinks Trita is a maharsi in this stanza.

(32) IX. 95 (Soma Pavamāna hymn), 4 :

Tām marmṛjānām mahisām ná sánāv  
 Amsúm duhanti uksānam giristhām ;  
 tām vāvaçānām matāyaḥ sacante,  
 Tritó bibharti Várunam samudré.

They press out the stalk, the bull that dwells on the mountain, him who like a buffalo<sup>4</sup> is purified on the summit.<sup>5</sup> Him as he roars<sup>6</sup> hymns accompany.<sup>7</sup> Trita cherishes (him who is like) Varuna in the (celestial) ocean.

That the first (as well as the fourth) line refers to the preparation of the heavenly Soma by Trita is suggested by sanáu as compared with Tritásyādhi sánavi in (31). Giristhām is, of course, an allusion to the Soma-plant being found on the mountains. The frequent comparison of animals (steed, bull, buffalo) with Soma in the ninth book is meant to illustrate either the speed with which it flows or its strength. The milk which is mixed with Soma is often spoken of as a garment with which he is decked.<sup>8</sup> Varuna is here used as an epithet of Soma according to the common practice<sup>9</sup> of Vedic poets of calling one god by the name of another in order to emphasize his greatness. Trita is here, according to Griffith, 'the preparer of the celestial

<sup>1</sup> Cp. (35). Ludwig thinks they are the Dawns.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. (32) and (34).

<sup>3</sup> divi (23), divyaḥ (24).

<sup>4</sup> Cp. IX. 43, 1: 'who is purified with milk like a steed' (yó átya iva mṛjyáte góbhiḥ).

<sup>5</sup> Cp. (31) Tritásyādhi sánavi.

<sup>6</sup> i.e. rushes in the pressing vats, the figure of the bull being kept up.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. Hillebrandt, V.M. p. 348 and p. 389.

<sup>8</sup> e.g. IX. 8, 5-6.

<sup>9</sup> Named Kathenotheism by Prof. Max Müller.

Soma,' according to Ludwig Vāyu, according to Sāyana either Indra or Soma (Varuna in the latter case being Indra, the repeller<sup>1</sup> of foes).

(33) IX. 102 (Soma Pavamāna hymn), 2 :

U'pa Tritásya pāsior  
ábhakta yád gúhā padám  
yajñásya saptá dhāmabhir ádha priyám.<sup>2</sup>

Near the two stones of Trita he (Soma) has occupied the place which (is) in secret, and is dear (to him) through the seven ordinances of sacrifice.

Since Trita, as we have seen,<sup>3</sup> often appears in the character of preparer of the celestial Soma, he is naturally conceived as possessing pressing stones. His dwelling-place, where these stones are, is hidden.<sup>4</sup> The place where Soma is prepared would naturally be dear to him, especially in connexion with the 'seven ordinances' of the sacrifice with which Soma is so largely concerned. In X. 52, 4 and X. 124, 1, the sacrifice is said to be seven-threaded (saptá-tantu). In (35) Trita is said to be familiar and associated with the centre (nābhi) where the seven rays shine. This almost certainly refers to the sacrificial fire with its rays conventionally regarded as seven in number, Trita being thought of as supplied with a sacrificial fire just as the terrestrial priest is. Ludwig regards this stanza as unintelligible, remarking, "what kind of a 'padam' is meant, and whether 'Tritasya' is to be connected with it, will remain obscure till the signification of Trita has been ascertained." Sāyana thinks Trita is the seer of the hymn.

(34) *ib.* 3 :

Tríni Tritásya dhārayā  
prsthésu érayā rayím :  
mímīte asya yójanā ví sukrátuh.

<sup>1</sup> çatrūṇām nivārakam, (as a kind of etymology of the word Varuna).

<sup>2</sup> This stanza occurs without variation in the SV.

<sup>3</sup> 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 32.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. X. 181, 2, 'they found the highest seat of the sacrifice which was hidden' (ávidan té átihitam yád āsīd yajñásya dhāma paramān gúhā yāt).



Bring wealth in a stream on Trita's ridges into (his) three (courses): the wise one (Soma) measures out his (Trita's) courses.

The translators make no intelligible, or at least satisfactory, sense of this stanza. The main justification of my interpretation is that I supply no extraneous word with 'tríni,' but explain it by the third line. The meaning of my translation is: 'Do thou, Soma, on the heights of Trita,<sup>1</sup> direct the fertilizing streams which produce wealth into the channels of Trita, for thou knowest these channels, having measured them out with thy streams.' Ludwig wishes to substitute the reading of the SV.<sup>2</sup> 'airayat' because of the 3rd sing. 'bhuvat' and 'abhakta' in the first and second stanzas of this hymn. We should then, however, have an imperfect after two aorists. The change from the second to the third person in the same stanza is not uncommon in the RV.<sup>3</sup> I take Tritásya with *prsthésu* like Tritásyádhi sánavi in (31). I construe the causal á-iraya with two accusatives denoting the direct object and the direction. Soma is described as bestowing wealth, for instance in IX. 45, 3: 'Unclose for us the doors of wealth'<sup>4</sup> and in IX. 5, 3: 'he shines as wealth with his streams of mead.'<sup>5</sup> With tríni I supply yójanā from the third line. This word occurs five times in the RV. with numerals, in two of these passages, I. 35, 8 and I. 164, 9; with 'three.' It is used in connexion with lightning in the latter stanza: 'The calf (=lightning) lowed, he looked upon the cow (=the cloud), that has all manner of shapes in three distances.'<sup>6</sup> The trí yójanā are most probably the same as the trí rocanā diváh, the three bright realms of heaven.<sup>7</sup> There can hardly be a doubt

<sup>1</sup> Cp. IX. 86, 27: *trítye prsthé ádhi rocané diváh*, 'on the third ridge in the brightness of heaven.'

<sup>2</sup> As to the value of the various readings of the SV. cp. Aufrecht RV. vol. ii. pp. xli.-xlv.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. p. 441, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ví no rāyē dúro vrdhi*. Cp. also IX. 102, 8: 'open the stall of heaven,' *rnór āpa vrajām diváh*.

<sup>5</sup> *rayir ví rājati . . mādhor dhārābhih*.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. p. 440, note 2.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. p. 483; cp. also the *tríni divi bāndhanāni* of the celestial steed in (17).

that a play on the numeral is intended by the juxtaposition of the words 'tríni Tritásya.'<sup>1</sup> Sāyana and Griffith supply *savanāni*, oblations, with *tríni*, Ludwig *savanāni* or *sarāmsi*, Grassmann, 'places' (*Stätten*), the latter word nearly coinciding in sense with my interpretation.

VIII. Trita is six times mentioned as in heaven,<sup>2</sup> or as remote and concealed.

(35) I. 105 (Viçvedevāh hymn), 9 :

Amí yé saptá raçmayás  
tátrā me nābhir<sup>3</sup> átātā.  
Tritás tād veda Āptiáh:  
sá jāmitváya rebhati.  
(vittám me asyá, rodasī).<sup>4</sup>

Where those seven rays (are), there my centre is extended. Trita Āptya knows that: he speaks for kinship. (Witness me that, o heaven and earth.)

The seven rays<sup>5</sup> no doubt mean the celestial fire of the Sun with which the seer, as a priest tending the sacrificial fire, claims connexion.<sup>6</sup> Trita knows this, for being the hidden fire in the cloud, he claims relationship with it himself. He is related as a brother both to the sun and to terrestrial fire.<sup>7</sup> Ludwig thinks that the seven rays refer to terrestrial fire, which forms the centre of the priest's kinship, and that *amí* is used because the seer is thinking of a fire in his mind's eye and not of one actually before him. But the next stanza which begins with similar words, (*amí yé páñca*), and refers to the heavens (*mádhya . . . diváh*), would suggest that not terrestrial but celestial fire

<sup>1</sup> Cp. p. 483 (41).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. (23) and (24) in heaven; (31) and (34) on a height; (33) in secret.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. *nābhih* in (26) and (30) note 5.

<sup>4</sup> Refrain.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. *jāmibhih* in (31), and *yajñasya saptá dhāmaibhih* in (33).

<sup>6</sup> Cp. X. 7, 3: 'Agni I deem my father, my kinsman, my brother, my friend for ever; as the face of great Agni I will honour the holy light of Sūrya in the sky.'

<sup>7</sup> Cp. I. 164, 1: 'the middle brother (of the three) is lightning.' See Haug, *Rāthselfragen*, p. 13.

is here referred to. With the expression *jāmitváya rebhati* may be compared *jāmí bruvanáh*, said of Trita 'calling' the weapons of his father 'akin' in (4). Ludwig thinks that Trita, both here and in (36), is Soma, while Sāyana considers him to be a 'Rsi, son of waters.'<sup>1</sup>

(36) *ib.* 17:

*Tritáh kúpe ávahito*  
*deván havata ūtáye:*  
*tác chuçrāva Bṛhaspátih*  
*kṛnvānn amhuranād urú.*  
 (vittám me asyá, rodasī).

Trita buried in the well called upon the gods for help. That Bṛhaspati heard, making (him) free from (his) distress. (Witness me that, o heaven and earth.)

Parallel with this stanza is (4), where Trita in his lurking place (*vavre*) prays to his father. Here he is released from his confinement by the 'Lord of Prayer';<sup>2</sup> there he prepares for the conflict with Vṛtra by arming himself with his father's weapons, *i.e.* the thunderbolt.

Both passages refer to Trita's concealment in the cloud,<sup>3</sup> from which he issues in the form of lightning.

In four stanzas (besides a fifth in which he is simply called *Āptya*) of VIII. 47 (a hymn to the *Ādityas* and to *Ushas*) Trita is spoken of as dwelling far away.

(37) VIII. 47, 13:

*Yád āvír yád apīcīam,*  
*dévāso, ásti duskṛtám,*  
*Trité tád víçvam Āptiá*  
*āré asmád dadhātana*  
 (*Aneháso va ūtáyah*  
*suūtáyo va ūtáyah*).

<sup>1</sup> He explains the word *Tritá* by '*tīrnatama*,' elucidating this explanation further by '*tiraskṛtājñāna*' 'one who has overcome ignorance.' Cp. p. 421.

<sup>2</sup> Bṛhaspati also releases the nectar (=fertilising rain) from the well of rock (=rain-cloud) in II. 24, 4 and X. 68, 4, 7, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Here called *kūpa* or well; otherwise the cloud is often called *utsa*, fountain, *avata*, well, or *ūdhar*, udder (of the sky) by a very natural metaphor. Cp. (19).

Whatever ill deed, o gods, is manifest or concealed, all that put far away from us to Trita Āptya. (Incomparable are your aids, well-aiding are your aids.)

(38) 14 :

Yác ca gósu duḥsvápniam  
yác cāsmé, duhitar divaḥ,  
Tritáya tād, vibhāvāri,  
Āptiāya párá vaha  
(Aneháso va —).

And any evil dream (there be) concerning (our) cows or ourselves, o daughter of heaven, to Trita Āptya, o radiant goddess, bear that away. (Incomparable, etc.)

(39) 15 :

Niskám vā ghā krnávate  
srájam vā, duhitar divaḥ,  
Trité duḥsvápniam sáravam  
Āptié pári dadmasi  
(Aneháso va —).

Whether it (the dream) produce a necklace or a wreath, o daughter of heaven, we put the whole evil dream away to Trita Āptya. (Incomparable, etc.)

The clause in which *krnávate* occurs must be subordinate as the verb is accented.<sup>1</sup> I incline, however, to give it the concessive sense of 'even if' and not simply 'if,' like Pischel and Grassmann. For then the use of *sáravam*, 'whole,' as opposed to *viçvam* in 13 would be justified.<sup>2</sup> That *sárva* has this meaning here and is not the later equivalent of *viçva*, 'all, every,' is supported by stanza 17, where it is contrasted with one-sixteenth and one-eighth. Pischel<sup>3</sup> thinks that *sraja* has an inauspicious meaning, because as early as the Brāhmaṇa period the sacrificial horse is spoken of as wearing a garland. But the evidence

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Pischel, *Vedica* in ZMG., vol. xl. p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> The sense would then be 'even though parts of it be pleasant, we put the whole of the evil dream away.'

<sup>3</sup> p. 112.

he further adduces seems to show that the sight of a garland is auspicious rather than sinister.<sup>1</sup> The word *niská* occurs in three other passages in the RV. The reference in I. 126, 2, where the poet says that he had accepted a hundred *niskas* and a hundred steeds as a gift, would point to an auspicious sense. In II. 33, 10, Rudra is said to wear a *niska*, which is variegated (*viçvarūpa*). In V. 19, 3, the use of the word in the compound *niská-grīva*, 'wearing a *niska* round the neck,' said of a seer named Brhaduktha, shows that the word meant necklace. But as Pischel<sup>2</sup> points out, there is no reason whatever for supposing that it means a 'gold necklace' in the RV. That there should be any connexion between the necklace of Rudra mentioned above and the later conception of Çiva with a necklace of skulls<sup>3</sup> is hardly likely.

(40) 16:

Tádannāya tādapase  
tām bhāgām upasedúse,  
Tritāya ca Dvitāya ca  
U'so, duḥsvāpniam vaha  
(Aneháso va —).

To him who has that for his food, that for his work, who possesses that portion, to Trita and to Dvita, o Dawn, bear the evil dream. (Incomparable, etc.)

(40a) 17:

Yáthā kalám yáthā çaphám  
yátha rnám samnáyāmasi,  
evā duḥsvāpniam sárvam  
Āptié sám nayāmasi  
(Aneháso va —).

As we discharge a sixteenth, as an eighth, as a (whole) debt, so we discharge the whole evil dream to Trita Āptya. (Incomparable, etc.)

<sup>1</sup> pp. 113-118.

<sup>2</sup> p. 121.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*

The word *kalá* occurs only here in the RV. ; but the meaning is undoubted owing to its being used twice along with *çaphá* with the sense of the fraction  $\frac{1}{16}$  in other Vedic works.<sup>1</sup> *Çaphá*, the (cloven) hoof has come to mean one-eighth just as *pāda*, 'foot,' acquired the sense of 'one-fourth' (of a stanza).

In all these five stanzas the poet wishes away every evil deed once and evil dreams four times to Trita as one dwelling in the far distance, his epithet *Āptya* being added four times no doubt to emphasize his remoteness. That a deity, who is regarded as remaining concealed in the clouds, and is only seen issuing from the remotest regions of the heavens, should be regarded as a type of what is extremely distant, is natural. In stanza 16 another deity, *Dvita*, is associated with Trita. *Dvita* is mentioned in only one other passage, in an Agni hymn (V. 18, 2), where there can be hardly any doubt that a form of Agni is meant:<sup>2</sup> 'To *Dvita* who carries away what is injured . . . to thee, O immortal (Agni), the singer forthwith presents Soma'<sup>3</sup>. It is of importance here to ascertain the exact meaning of the attribute *mṛktá-vāhas*. *Mṛktá* is the past participle of *mṛc* (occurring in five finite forms in the RV.), which in its negative form *a-mṛkta* is met with eleven times in the RV. with the undoubted sense of uninjured. *vāhas* occurs five times as a noun in the RV. meaning 'offering,' but also frequently at the end of bahuvrīhi compounds such as *yajñá-vāhas*, meaning 'taking,' 'wafting.' In *nr-vāhas*, 'wafting men,' it is accented as a Tatpuruṣa like *-vāhá*, 'carrying away.' That in *mṛktá-vāhas* it has the latter meaning is confirmed by *ripṛa-vāhá*,<sup>4</sup> 'carrying away impurity,' an epithet of Agni. The word must therefore mean 'carrying off what is injured, imperfect, or faulty.' Besides the Dawn who in our hymn (VIII. 47) as the dispeller of darkness and sleep is naturally

<sup>1</sup> In the TS. and ÇB. : see BR. s.v.

<sup>2</sup> Grassmann, Translation, Vol. I. p. 175, is of this opinion.

<sup>3</sup> *Dvitāya mṛktāvāhase . . . indum sá dhatta ānusák stotā cit te amartia.*

<sup>4</sup> ἄπ. λεγ. RV. X. 16, 9.

enough four times<sup>1</sup> invoked to bear away evil dreams, the only other god who is called upon to do the same thing is the (morning) sun (Sūrya or Savitr), the reason being of course similar. Outside our hymn (VIII. 47) the word *duḥsvápnya* occurs only three times in the RV.: in V. 82, 4 Savitr is invoked to bear away<sup>2</sup> the evil dream, and in X. 37, 4 it is Sūrya who is to drive away<sup>3</sup> sickness, neglect of sacrifice, disease, and evil dream.<sup>4</sup> Such a function would be well described by 'mrktá-vāhas,' 'carrying away what is faulty.' This meaning would be equivalent to *pāvaká*, purifying,<sup>5</sup> which though usually an epithet of Agni, is also applied to Sūrya in I. 50, 6. Thus Dvita would appear to be the second form of fire or the sun, who as the dispeller of darkness carries off evil dreams, and equally well with Trita, the third form of fire or lightning, may be regarded as dwelling in the remote distance. Grassmann considered the last five stanzas of VIII. 47 (14-18) to form a separate hymn. This seems highly probable, owing to the unity of the subject matter. But as Pischel<sup>6</sup> points out, it is more likely that this new hymn commences with stanza 13, partly because of the 'ca' at the beginning of 14, and partly owing to the common strophic character of these six verses (irrespective of the general refrain, which is added from the previous part of the hymn). I have already disposed of one of Grassmann's reasons for separating 14-18 from 13, the occurrence of *sarva* in the former as opposed to *viçva* in the latter. Sāyana considering Trita to be the author of VIII. 47, involves himself in great difficulties of interpretation.

Having carefully examined all the passages<sup>7</sup> in which

<sup>1</sup> In stanzas 14, 15, 16 and 18.

<sup>2</sup> 'suva,' with the frequent etymological play on the word *savitr*; in the following stanza he is called upon to carry away evil deeds (*duritāni*) as the *Adityas* in (37).

<sup>3</sup> Again 'suva.'

<sup>4</sup> The third passage is X. 36, 4, where the pressing stone (*grāvan*) is called upon to dispel evil spirits and evil dreams.

<sup>5</sup> The sense usually given to the word by the native commentators, though BR. and Grassmann assign to it the meaning of 'radiant,' 'flaming.'

<sup>6</sup> *Vedica*, ZM.G. vol. xl. p. 111.

<sup>7</sup> With the exception of the one occurrence of the word in the plural, which I wish to reserve till later (p. 482).

Trita's name occurs in the RV., it will, I think, conduce to clearness if before proceeding I summarize the information there supplied as to the nature of this god.

In the majority of the passages in which Trita is associated with Indra, he is engaged in the fight with the demon of drought, while in the remaining stanzas he prepares Soma for Indra in the remote region of the heavens where *Visnu*, *Manu Vivasvat*, and the *Maruts* dwell. He is also once mentioned independently as slaying *Vrtra* under the inspiration of Soma, and once identified with the swift celestial steed, the personification of lightning. When associated with the *Maruts*, he is connected with the rain-cloud, he thunders, he assists them, he brings them down to earth on his car. In the passages where he is mentioned with *Agni*, he is in two cases undoubtedly, and in two others most probably, identified with him. When spoken of with Soma, he is regarded as preparing it in a lofty and remote region of heaven, and there supplying it to Indra, once, however, drinking it himself. Finally, he is described as being hidden in a well or dwelling in the extreme distance.

We have seen that Trita has been identified by various scholars with Indra, *Vāyu*, *Dyu*, Soma, and *Agni*, respectively, or in some cases with two or even three of these deities in different passages. Now the nature of the Vedic deities is so abstract, their attributes so comparatively few, and those not always distinctive, that in some places one god may very well seem identical with an entirely different one. This is, no doubt, the main reason why the Vedic poets so often call one god, for the moment, by the name of another. Supposing, however, we consider the passages collectively in which Trita is referred to, his characteristics, taken as a whole, certainly do not apply to the first four of the deities mentioned above.

That he is not identical with Indra, as far as the RV. is concerned, is sufficiently proved by the fact that they so often appear side by side as distinct personages.

*Vāyu* or *Vāta* could not possibly be said to be born in houses (26), or to take up his abode in dwellings as the



house-friend (27). Unlike Agni, who appears as fire, sun, and lightning, Vāyu is never regarded as having any other form than that of wind. It would, therefore, be highly unnatural that he should be mentioned over again in the same stanza by the name of Trita as in (24) and (28). Again, if Trita were Vāyu, how could we account for Dvita<sup>1</sup>?

The identification of Trita with Dyū is more easily dismissed than any of the others. How could the god, who is the personification of the heavens, be possibly conceived as establishing himself in the houses of men, or being hidden in a well, or praying to his father to release him? Who would be his father?

Soma being a terrestrial product, all its characteristics must be in the highest degree familiar to the poets of the Rigveda. It would, therefore, have been extremely unnatural had they conceived Soma in its celestial form to be so divested of its distinctive attributes as no longer to be in any sense a counterpart of what it was on earth. As a matter of fact, the parallelism between the two is strongly marked in the RV.<sup>2</sup> Thus the celestial, as well as the terrestrial Soma, is regarded as mixed with water, though many passages show that it is in reality identical with rain-water.<sup>3</sup> Thus too, the celestial Soma is five times in the RV. spoken of as a 'Vrtra-slayer' in a secondary sense, because it braces Indra for the conflict with Vrtra, just as the terrestrial Soma inspires with courage. If Trita were Soma, in what sense could he be said to take up his abode in the dwellings of men, and become the centre of brightness? The chief argument, however, against the identification of these two is, the fact that they are very frequently mentioned together, Trita generally being the preparer of Soma. It may be objected that they could very well be referred to together, if the one were regarded as the god, and the other as the juice. Thus the meaning

<sup>1</sup> See above pp. 463-4.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Hillebrandt, V.M. p. 388.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 362.

in (18) would be: 'I will praise the Soma-juice by which the god Soma slew Vrtra.' This sense is unnatural in itself, nor do I think any passage can be adduced from the RV. in support of it. Anyhow, this argument does not apply when Soma is distinctly the deity, as in (17), (24), or (31), where Soma causes the sun to shine on the ridge of Trita. Nevertheless, Bergaigne, who was as familiar with the subject matter of the RV. as any other scholar, in most cases identifies Trita with Soma, though in a few passages he recognizes him undoubtedly to be Agni. The difficulty of making Trita represent two totally different gods he gets over by regarding the celestial Agni and the celestial Soma (=liquid fire) as one and the same. This view, no doubt, arose from the fact of Agni and Soma in their celestial form having many points in common. Thus both dwell in the clouds or waters and both come down to earth. But to identify the two is going too far.

Having dealt with the opinions previously held, I may now state definitely my own conclusions, which may be gathered from remarks made above and has already been stated provisionally in my Sanskrit Dictionary. Trita I regard as no other than the third or lightning form of Agni. This interpretation will suit all the passages we have examined. Lightning is the chief agent in the thunderstorm, and its manifestation precedes the release of the heavenly waters. It is thus a matter of course that Trita should be associated with Indra in the conflict with the drought fiend. He is naturally identified with the celestial steed, the personification of lightning as having in the highest degree the quality most distinctive of the horse. His connexion in this character with the Maruts and the rain-cloud, his thundering and his descent to the earth, is no less clear. His relation to Agni, of whom he is only a form, is still more obvious. What, moreover, is more natural than that Agni who is *the* priest<sup>1</sup> on earth, should be regarded as the preparer of the celestial Soma in the

<sup>1</sup> He is constantly spoken of as a *hotr* in the RV.

heavens? Besides there are several verses in the RV. which closely connect lightning with the purification of Soma.<sup>1</sup> It is important to note that of all the gods with whom Trita is mentioned, Agni is the only one with whom he is actually identified. It is true that Varuna is once spoken of as Trita. But this may be left out of account as an isolated case of Kathenotheism. For in no other instance is Trita even mentioned with Varuna except in (32), where he is said to cherish 'Varuna' similarly used as an epithet of Soma. What, further, is more apt than to speak of lightning as concealed in a well as a figurative term for the rain-cloud? His praying to be released is not a far-fetched way of expressing mythologically that the appearance of the lightning flash and the consequent release of the rain often seem unduly delayed. Finally, hardly any other phenomenon of nature would be more likely to suggest to men in an early stage of civilization the idea of extreme remoteness than lightning, which often seems to break from the uttermost limits of the heavens.

This identification is thoroughly borne out by the nature of Agni in the RV. No other god is to be met with there in whom a threefold division rests on a physical basis. Fire appears as ordinary Agni on earth, as the Sun or Sūrya in the heavens, and as lightning in the intermediate region. Terrestrial and solar fire as being permanent and appearing every day, would naturally be regarded as the first and second form, while its fleeting and rarer manifestation would be looked upon as the third.

No cosmological fact is more frequently alluded to in the RV. than this threefold division of fire.<sup>2</sup> I have collected close on seventy passages in which it is referred to with or without some form of the numeral 'three.' It will, however, suffice for our purposes to quote only the most striking of them:—'O Agni, three (are) thy powers, three (thy) stations (sadhāsthā), three thy tongues . . and three thy

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Hillebrandt, V.M. p. 342.

<sup>2</sup> There can be no doubt that the three sacrificial fires were meant to represent these three forms of Agni. Cp. Ludwig, RV. vol. iii. p. 356.

bodies' (tanvās).<sup>1</sup> 'I<sup>2</sup> am threefold light' (arkás tridhātuh).<sup>3</sup> 'O thou who abidest in three places (trisadhasthá<sup>4</sup>), Agni Vaiçvānara.'<sup>5</sup> 'The immortals purified three kindlings (samídhah) of Agni: of these one they assigned to man (mártye) for enjoyment, and two went to the sister world' (u lokám jāmím).<sup>6</sup> 'Threefold (tríh) are the births of god Agni.'<sup>7</sup> 'He first was born in dwellings (pastīāsu) at the base of great heaven (maháh),<sup>8</sup> in the womb of this atmosphere,<sup>9</sup> footless, headless, concealing his ends, contracting himself in the lair of (him) the bull.'<sup>10</sup> 'To that Agni who has three dwellings (tripastyám), best slayer of Dasyus (dasyuhántamam) we have come.'<sup>11</sup> 'The wise Agni inhabits threefold<sup>12</sup> (tridhātūni) gathering places' (vidáthā).<sup>13</sup> 'From heaven first Agni was born, the second time from us (asmád, i.e. men), thirdly (trtíyam) the manly-souled (was born) in the waters.'<sup>14</sup> 'We know, O Agni, thy three (abodes) in three places (tredhá), we know thy abodes (dháma) distributed in many places; we know thy highest name which (is) in secret;<sup>15</sup> we know that spring (utsa)<sup>16</sup> whence thou comest.'<sup>17</sup> 'The manly-souled viewer of men'<sup>18</sup>

<sup>1</sup> III. 20, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Agni is represented as speaking.

<sup>3</sup> III. 26, 7. Hillebrandt (Cp. V.M. p. 334) thinks that the third form of Agni is the moon; but that a luminary, whose rays become the type of what is cooling, should be regarded as a representative form of the burning and scorching god is highly improbable, apart from the weakness of the evidence in the RV.

<sup>4</sup> This epithet is often applied to Agni, e.g. V. 4, 8; VI. 12, 2.

<sup>5</sup> VI. 8, 7.

<sup>6</sup> III. 2, 9.

<sup>7</sup> IV. 1, 7.

<sup>8</sup> As the sun.

<sup>9</sup> As lightning.

<sup>10</sup> IV. 1, 11. Cp. p. 474, note 10.

<sup>11</sup> VIII. 39, 8.

<sup>12</sup> Referring to the threefold division of heaven, earth, and atmosphere, so often alluded to.

<sup>13</sup> VIII. 39, 9.

<sup>14</sup> X. 45, 1.

<sup>15</sup> Most probably 'Trita'; cp. X. 5, 2.

<sup>16</sup> Cp. kúpe in (36).

<sup>17</sup> X. 45, 2. Cp. X. 5, 1, where it is said of Agni that he 'lurks in the udder, in the lap of the secret ones; in the midst of the spring rests the place of the bird' (śisakti ūdhar niniór upásthā, útsasya mādhye níhitam padám veḥ).

<sup>18</sup> Probably Varuṇa, who, in V. 85, 2, is said to have placed Agni in the waters (Váruṇo apsú Agnim divi sūryam adadhāt).

kindled thee in the (aerial) ocean within the waters, in the udder (úḍhan) of the sky, o Agni; the mighty ones (mahisáḥ)<sup>1</sup> increased thee as thou stoodest in the third (region of the) atmosphere (trtíye rájasi) in the lap of the waters.'<sup>2</sup> 'As heavenly (āsurá) germ he is called Tanū-napāt,<sup>3</sup> when he is born in different places (vijáyate) he is Narāçamsa,<sup>4</sup> Mātariçvan when he was fashioned in his mother.'<sup>5</sup> 'The middlemost brother is lightning (áçnah), the third is butter-backed (ghrtáprsthah).'<sup>6</sup> 'Visnu knowing (it) guards his (Agni's) highest (sc. station), the third.'<sup>7</sup>

It being now clear that a third form of Agni is very frequently recognized in the RV., my view that this third form of Agni or lightning is identical with Trita will receive strong confirmation, if we find Agni occurring in the same combinations in which Trita appears. That view may be considered as established if Agni and Trita can be shown to have some characteristic in common which is shared by no other deity.

I will, therefore, now proceed to examine the nature of Agni in the RV. under the same eight heads as those under which I have already dealt with Trita.

I. Not only are Agni and Indra very frequently associated, but eleven hymns are addressed to these two deities in conjunction.<sup>8</sup> From the numerous passages which may be quoted to show the intimate connexion of Agni with Indra, I select the following: 'Ye have gained a good name together, and ye, o Vrtra-slayers are united; as such, o Indra-Agni, seated together do ye, o mighty ones, pour down the mighty Soma.'<sup>9</sup> 'The heroic deeds and the mighty acts which ye, O Indra-Agni, have done, the forms which (ye have assumed), the ancient auspicious bonds of friendship

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the Maruts.

<sup>2</sup> X. 45, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Here the sun.

<sup>4</sup> Ordinary fire.

<sup>5</sup> Lightning, III. 29, 11.

<sup>6</sup> I. 164, 1: cp. Haug *Räthselfragen*, p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> X. 1, 3.

<sup>8</sup> The other gods along with whom Indra is invoked are Varuna (seven hymns), Soma (two), Pūsan (one), Visnu (one).

<sup>9</sup> I. 108, 3.

which (are) yours, for their sake do ye drink of the pressed Soma.'<sup>1</sup> 'Of you, o Indra-Agni, I have heard that ye are mightiest in the Vrtra-fight<sup>2</sup> at the division of wealth; as such seated on the strewn grass at this sacrifice, do ye delight yourselves with the juice, ye active ones.'<sup>3</sup> 'Ye destroyers of forts, bestow (wealth), ye that bear the thunderbolt in your hands; protect us, o Indra-Agni, in battles' (bháresu).<sup>4</sup> 'I invoke Indra-Agni, the bounteous, Vrtra-slayers, conquering together, unsubdued, mightiest in winning spoil.'<sup>5</sup> 'Indra-Agni cast down together with a single deed the ninety-nine forts lorded over by the demons.'<sup>6</sup> 'O Indra-Agni, ye adorn in your mighty conflicts the bright realms of heaven (rocaná diváh): that heroic might of yours has become famous.'<sup>7</sup> 'O Indra-Agni, your father is the same, ye (are) brothers, ye are twins, whose mother is here and there' (ihehamātārā).<sup>8</sup> 'By the command of Indra-Agni streaming the rivers flow, which they two released from their confinement.'<sup>9</sup> 'Indra-Agni, mighty lords in Vrtra-fights helping one another, dwelling together in body, filled the great atmosphere with their might.'<sup>10</sup> 'This is that Agni beside whom (yasmin) Indra eagerly placed the pressed Soma within his belly.'<sup>11</sup>

II. The celestial horse, the personification of lightning speed, is, as we have seen, identified in one passage with Trita. This steed, under the name of Dadhikrā,<sup>12</sup> is in IV. 40, 5 described as being identical with the various forms of fire: 'the Hamsa<sup>13</sup> dwelling in light, the Vasu in the

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.* 5.

<sup>2</sup> Pischel, who translates the whole of I. 109 in V.S. part ii. takes vrtra-hatya here in the sense of 'fight' (in general).

<sup>3</sup> I. 109, 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* 8.

<sup>5</sup> III, 12, 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* 6.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.* 9.

<sup>8</sup> VII. 59, 2.

<sup>9</sup> VIII. 40, 8.

<sup>10</sup> X. 65, 2.

<sup>11</sup> III. 22, 1.

<sup>12</sup> The very name dadhi-krā (or-krā-van) 'curd-mixing' (√kr or kir) is suggestive of lightning, which (or thunder) turns milk sour.

<sup>13</sup> The sun is often spoken of as a bird in the RV. Cp. p. 469, note 17.

atmosphere,<sup>1</sup> the priest<sup>2</sup> dwelling on the altar, the guest<sup>3</sup> dwelling in the house.' In IV. 39, 2, the poet says: 'Rejoicing I praise the mighty swift stallion Dadhikrāvan who bestows many gifts, the conqueror (táturim), whom like shining Agni (dīdivāmsam nāgnīm) Mitra-Varuna gave to men' (purúbhyaḥ), adding in stanza 4: 'When we think of Dadhikrāvan . . . , we call for welfare upon the blessed name of the Maruts, Varuna, Mitra, Agni (and) Indra who bears the bolt in his arm.'

III. Agni is very frequently described as slaying Vṛtra. In four of the passages quoted under I. Agni is spoken of conjointly with Indra as performing this deed. I will now add some more (which might be greatly multiplied) showing Agni in this character. 'Let people say: Agni, the Vṛtra-slayer, has been born, the winner of wealth in every battle.'<sup>4</sup> 'Thee, mightiest Vṛtra-slayer, who castest down the demons (dasyūn) we praise owing to thy riches.'<sup>5</sup> 'May that Vṛtra-slayer, ancient, omniscient, take the singer across all troubles.'<sup>6</sup> 'Agni, the Bhārata, the Vṛtra-slayer, has been brought.'<sup>7</sup> 'May Agni slay the Vṛtras.'<sup>8</sup> It should here be noted that Agni is the only other deity to whom is applied with any frequency 'vrtrahan,' the specific epithet of Indra, which is used more than seventy times of the latter deity in the RV. Agni is sixteen times called 'Vṛtra-slayer,' in seven of these passages conjointly with Indra.<sup>9</sup> Otherwise the term is applied six times to Soma, as bracing Indra for the conflict, and twice (in the same hymn) to the Aṣvins. Here again Agni, like Trita, agrees in a remarkable manner with Indra in his most salient characteristic.

IV. Agni is often associated with the Maruts. The refrain of I. 19 is 'O Agni, come hither with the Maruts.'

<sup>1</sup> Lightning.

<sup>2</sup> A regular epithet of Agni as the sacrificial fire.

<sup>3</sup> Common designation of Agni as the domestic fire.

<sup>4</sup> I. 74, 3.

<sup>5</sup> I. 78, 4.

<sup>6</sup> III. 20, 4.

<sup>7</sup> VI. 16, 19.

<sup>8</sup> Agnir vrtrāṇi jaṅghanat, *ib.* 34.

<sup>9</sup> Indra and Agni are the only gods conjointly termed 'Vṛtra-slayers.'

Agni is called the 'friend of the Maruts.'<sup>1</sup> The Maruts are said to have Agni as their tongue.<sup>2</sup> The same intimate connexion appears in the following two passages: 'We implore the brightness of Agni and the might of the Maruts.'<sup>3</sup> 'O Kanvas, I praise Agni together with our Maruts that hold bolts in their hands and bear golden axes.'<sup>4</sup>

V. We have seen that Trita is not only several times associated with Agni, but is in some instances actually identified with him. Such being the case, the question naturally suggests itself, Is there any characteristic which belongs to both Trita and Agni, but which they have in common with no other deity? This question admits, I believe, of an answer in the affirmative. The epithet *Āptyá*, occurring ten times in the RV., is in effect exclusively limited to Trita. The word is derived from *āp* the strong base of *ap*, 'water,' by means of the suffix *-tya*, which is usually employed in forming adjectives from adverbs or prepositions, with the sense of 'derived from' or 'belonging to,' as in *amā-tya*, *āpa-tya*, *nī-tya*. Another derivative with the same suffix from the weak base of *ap* is *ap-tyá*, 'watery,' which occurs in one passage,<sup>5</sup> where the Dawn is spoken of as appearing in the eastern half of the 'watery atmosphere' (*aptyásya rájasaḥ*). A third derivative of *ap* is *ap-ta*, which is found once<sup>6</sup> in the RV. in the negative form *an-apta*, meaning 'not watery,' said of Soma.<sup>7</sup> The most common adjective derived from *ap*, which occurs fifteen times in the RV., and has the sense of 'belonging to or derived from the waters,' 'aqueous,' is *áp-ya*. That this is the meaning of *āptyá* also is recognized by the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa,<sup>8</sup> in quoting which Sāyana in his introductory remarks to RV. I. 105, says: "That Trita was son of waters the Taittirīyas clearly state: 'then Ekata was born; he (Agni) threw a second time, then

<sup>1</sup> *Marúdydha*, III. 13, 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Agnijihvá*, I. 89, 7.

<sup>3</sup> III. 26, 6.

<sup>4</sup> VIII. 7, 32.

<sup>5</sup> I. 124, 5.

<sup>6</sup> IX. 16, 3.

<sup>7</sup> *ānaptam apsú dustáram sómam*.

<sup>8</sup> See p. 478.



Dvita was born ; he threw a third time, then Trita was born. Because they were born from the waters therefore they are āpyas.' This same Āpya we read of with the insertion of the letter t in Trita Āptya knows that."<sup>1</sup> Sāyana elsewhere refers to this 'insertion of the letter t' as Vedic (chāndasa).

The etymological meaning 'derived from the waters,' which is supported by the Brāhmanas,<sup>2</sup> is thoroughly in keeping with what we have ascertained from the evidence of the RV. itself to be the character of Trita. Moreover, granting that Trita is the celestial Agni, there is no point better established in Vedic mythology than the conception of Agni dwelling in the waters.<sup>3</sup> The following are a few of the very numerous quotations which might be adduced in support of this statement: 'O Agni, thou art kindled in the abode of waters.'<sup>4</sup> 'He dwelt in the lap of the waters.'<sup>5</sup> 'The great priest, who knows the clouds, who dwells among men, sat in the lap of waters.'<sup>6</sup> 'Wise Bhrgus found him in the gathering place of the waters.'<sup>7</sup> 'Bhrgus serving him in the gathering place of the waters, placed him in the dwellings of man.'<sup>8</sup> 'The gods found beautiful Agni within the waters.'<sup>9</sup> 'Him the observant, benevolent (gods) found in the waters crouching like a lion.'<sup>10</sup> 'He who observes the laws of the gods<sup>11</sup> told me that thou (Agni) wast lying concealed in the waters.'<sup>12</sup> 'Within the waters, Soma said to me, are all medicines and Agni who blesses all.'<sup>13</sup>

There are two occurrences—in one and the same verse<sup>14</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> RV. I. 105, 9.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 479.

<sup>3</sup> See Bergaigne, R.V. II. 16.

<sup>4</sup> III. 25, 5.

<sup>5</sup> I. 144, 2.

<sup>6</sup> X. 46, 1.

<sup>7</sup> Ib. 2.

<sup>8</sup> II. 4, 2.

<sup>9</sup> III. i. 3.

<sup>10</sup> III. 9, 4. Cp. IV. i. 11 ; III. i. 14.

<sup>11</sup> Soma, see next quotation.

<sup>12</sup> X. 32, 6.

<sup>13</sup> X. 9, 6 = I. 23, 20.

<sup>14</sup> X 120, 6.

of the word *Āptya* which do not refer to *Trita*. The epithet is there applied to *Trita*'s most intimate associate *Indra*, but in such a general way as to show clearly that it is for the nonce transferred to him by the poet for the purpose of emphasizing his greatness. *Indra* is here praised as 'the most mighty *Āptya* of the *Āptyas*' (*inátamam Āptyám*<sup>1</sup> *Āptyānām*<sup>2</sup>). It is thus clear that the word *Āptya*, meaning 'derived from or dwelling in the waters' is in reality the exclusive epithet of *Trita*.

Similarly the epithet *Apām napāt*, 'son of waters,' which occurs twenty-eight times in the *RV.* is, with a single insignificant exception, exclusively applied to *Agni* as produced from the celestial waters in the form of lightning.<sup>3</sup> The meaning of the epithet is so undoubted, that it would be waste of space to quote here more than two or three passages in support of it. 'The son of waters, erect, clothed in lightning has penetrated to the lap of the slanting (waters); the son of waters is golden in form, golden in look, golden in colour.'<sup>4</sup> 'He who shines without fuel amidst the waters, whom priests praise at sacrifices: do thou, o son of waters, give waters rich in mead, by which *Indra* grew strong for his heroic deed.'<sup>5</sup>

The single exception referred to above is *RV. I. 22, 6*, where *Savitṛ* is praised as the 'son of waters.' *Savitṛ* being the sun, regarded as a generator, is a form of *Agni*, and closely associated in nature with moisture. We have already

<sup>1</sup> *Yāska* (*Nir. XI. 20*) deriving the word from *āp* 'to obtain,' explains *Āptyám Āptyānām* by *āptavyam āptavyānām*!

<sup>2</sup> This single occurrence in the *RV.* of the word in the plural is the only justification for '*Āptyāh*' appearing among the deities of the middle region in the *Nighantus* (5, 5).

<sup>3</sup> This is the view accepted by the majority of Vedic scholars. *Hillebrandt* (*V.M.*, pp. 365-80) inclines to the belief that *Apām napāt* is the moon. The evidence of the *RV.* is distinctly in favour of the received opinion. Dwelling and concealment in the waters, swiftness, and fieriness is essential to the nature of lightning, but not to that of the moon.

<sup>4</sup> *II. 35, 8* and *9*.

<sup>5</sup> *X. 30, 4*. It is to be noted that the waters released by the celestial *Agni* are here distinctly regarded as the celestial *Soma* which strengthens *Indra* for the conflict. So *Trita* prepares *Soma* for *Indra*.

seen<sup>1</sup> Savitr as Dvita connected with Agni as Trita. This exception is, therefore, in reality, no exception at all. Every doubt as to Apām napāt being simply and solely the lightning form of Agni is removed by the evidence of the Avesta, where Apām napāt is "a name of the fire-god as born from the cloud in lightning."<sup>2</sup> The conclusion, therefore, seems to be irresistible that Trita Āptya and Agni Apām napāt were originally one and the same person.

VI. In two or three passages Agni is more or less identified with Varuna. Thou, O Agni (art) Varuna when thou art born, thou becomest Mitra when kindled; in thee,<sup>3</sup> o son of strength, all gods are.'<sup>4</sup> 'Having obtained a vision of him,' says the poet, 'I have regarded Varuna's as Agni's face.'<sup>5</sup> It is said of Varuna, in another passage,<sup>6</sup> that he 'discharged the cask that opens downwards through heaven and earth and air,' this being otherwise the action of the celestial Agni or of Indra.

VII. Agni is sometimes associated with Soma, one whole hymn<sup>7</sup> being addressed to them conjointly. The following two stanzas may be quoted. 'O Agni-Soma, that heroic deed of yours became famous when ye stole from Pani the cows, (his) food.'<sup>8</sup> 'You two working together, Agni and Soma, placed these luminaries in the heavens; you two, Agni-Soma released from curse and reproach the pent-up rivers.'<sup>9</sup>

VIII. The following are two examples of Agni being in the celestial heights: 'That Agni, born in the highest heavens (parame vyōmani) observed the ordinances.'<sup>10</sup> 'Agni's roarings, accompanied with sharp weapons for slaying the demon, are in the heavens.'<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In (40).

<sup>2</sup> Darmesteter, SBE. vol. iv. p. lxiii.

<sup>3</sup> In X. 5, 3, Agni is called 'the centre (nābhi) of all that moves and is fixed'; cp. VIII. 41, 6, above (30).

<sup>4</sup> V. 3, 1.

<sup>5</sup> VII. 88, 2.

<sup>6</sup> V. 85, 3.

<sup>7</sup> I. 93.

<sup>8</sup> I. 93, 4.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.* 5.

<sup>10</sup> VI. 8, 2.

<sup>11</sup> V. 2, 10.

Agni is also often described as hidden. 'The wise (gods) tracked thee lurking in secret like a thief with a cow.'<sup>1</sup> 'In his hand holding all manly power, crouching in secret, he put the gods in fear.'<sup>2</sup> 'Thee, Agni, lurking in secret the Angirasas found out.'<sup>3</sup> 'Great lights, like shining lightnings, attended the radiant Agni grown in secret, as it were, within his own abode milking the nectar (amṛtam) in the boundless stall.'<sup>4</sup> 'In the lap of the waters the mighty seized him; Mātariṣvan as messenger of Vivasvat brought Agni Vaiṣvānara from far away.'<sup>5</sup> 'Large and firm was that covering (úlbam) wherewith enveloped thou didst enter the waters.'<sup>6</sup>

Having collected the evidence contained in the RV. itself bearing directly or indirectly on the character of Trita, let us now inquire whether any additional light can be shed on the subject by the remaining literature of ancient India.

The name of Trita occurs six times in the Sāma Veda, but only in verses borrowed from the ninth book of the Rigveda. These passages I have already examined, adding the various readings of the SV. where they exist.

Trita, spelt Trtá,<sup>7</sup> is mentioned three times in the Atharva Veda, two of these occurrences being in the same hymn.

In AV. I. 113, 1, we read: 'To Trta the gods transferred from themselves (amṛjata) this guilt (enas). Trta transferred it from himself (mamṛje) to men. If, therefore, a demon of disease (grāhi) has seized thee, may the gods drive it away from thee through prayer' (brahma); and in the third stanza of the same hymn: 'What was imposed on Trta twelvefold, he has transferred from himself, human

<sup>1</sup> I. 65, 1.

<sup>2</sup> I. 67, 2. Cp. 469, note 10, and 474, note 10.

<sup>3</sup> V. 11, 6.

<sup>4</sup> III. 1, 14.

<sup>5</sup> VI. 8, 4.

<sup>6</sup> X. 51, 1.

<sup>7</sup> This represents an older form of the word than tritá, being the basis of the secondary formation trt-īya, = Lat. tertius, etc. Cp. Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II. part i. p. 229.

misfortune: if, therefore, a demon of disease has seized thee, may the gods drive it away from thee through prayer.'

In XIX. 56, a hymn to sleep (svapna), stanza 4 says: 'The Fathers did not know him nor the gods who conversed with him. The heroes, the Ādityas, taught by Varuna, banished sleep to Trta Āptya.'

From the first two passages nothing can be gathered except perhaps a reminiscence of Trita being a purifier or healer, in his character of preparer of the heavenly Soma. This, of course, only applies as far as the gods are concerned. His remoteness is also suggested, this being one of his traits in the RV. The third passage illustrates this latter characteristic, being parallel to RV. VIII. 47, 13 (see above 37), where the Ādityas are invoked to bear away every evil deed ('duskṛtam,' corresponding to 'enas' of the two first passages in the AV.) to Trita Āptya, as the Dawn in the next three stanzas is called upon to do with evil dreams.

Thus we see that the AV. supplies us with no new information as to the character of Trita.

In the Yajurveda, TS. I. viii. 10, 2, Trita is described as a bestower of long life:

ví u Tritó jarimānam ná ānat,<sup>1</sup>

Trita has obtained old age for us.

This is without doubt a secondary trait derived from Trita's character of preparer of the heavenly Soma, the amṛta or draught of immortality.

The authors of the Brāhmanas of the YV. evidently had a feeling that the names Trita and Dvita of the RV. were connected with numerals, for we find in both the Taittirīya and the Vājasaneyi branches a story in which a third brother Ekata was invented.

The story in the TB. (III. ii. 8, 10-11) is as follows: "Agni threw a coal into the waters. Then Ekata was born. He threw a second time. Then Dvita was born.

<sup>1</sup> This verse occurs again in the TB. I. 7, 4, 4.

He threw a third time. Then Trita was born. Because they were born from the waters, therefore (there is) the aqueous nature (*āpyatvam*) of the aqueous deities (*āpyānām*)."

The story takes the following form in the ÇB. I. ii. 3, 1 and 2<sup>1</sup>: "Fourfold was Agni (fire) at first. Now that Agni whom they at first chose for the office of Hotr priest passed away. He also whom they chose the second time passed away. He also whom they chose the third time passed away.<sup>2</sup> Thereupon the one who still constitutes the fire in our own time, concealed himself from fear. He entered into the waters. Him the gods discovered and brought forcibly away from the waters.<sup>3</sup> He spat upon the waters, saying, 'Bespitten are ye who are an unsafe place of refuge, from whom they take me away against my will.' Thence sprang the *Āptya*<sup>4</sup> deities Trita, Dvita, and Ekata.<sup>5</sup> They roamed about with Indra, even as nowadays a Brāhman follows in the train of a king. When he slew Viçvarūpa, the three-headed son of Tvastṛ, they also knew of his going to be killed; and straightway Trita<sup>6</sup> slew him. Indra, assuredly, was free from that (sin), for he is a god."

Sāyana, after quoting the above passage from the TB. in his introduction to RV. I. 105, mentions a story of the Çātyāyanins to the following effect: "There were once three *Rsis* named Ekata, Dvita, Trita. These once being in a desert place in the forest, having their limbs tormented with thirst, found a well. Then the one called Trita entered the well to drink water. Having himself drunk, and having drawn water for the others, he gave it to them. The other two having drunk the water and having cast Trita into the

<sup>1</sup> I quote Eggeling's translation, SBE. vol. xiii. p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> As to the three former Agnis, cp. ÇB. I. iii. 3, 13-16; also TS. II. vi. 6.

<sup>3</sup> This concealment and discovery of Agni in the waters is evidently based on the myth so frequently alluded to in the RV.

<sup>4</sup> It is to be noted that the epithet here is *Āptya*, regarded as a derivative of *ap*, 'water,' while the TB. has *āpya*.

<sup>5</sup> These three names are also mentioned a little further on in § 5.

<sup>6</sup> In TS. II. v. 1, 1, Viçvarūpa is slain by Indra. Cp. above (5) RV. X. viii., where in stanza 8 Trita slays Viçvarūpa, and in 9 Indra slays him.

well, and taking all his goods and covering up the well with a car-wheel, went on their way. Then fallen into the well and unable to get out of it, he thought in his heart 'would that all the gods would rescue me.' Then he saw (composed) this hymn which praises them. There in the night he saw within the well the rays of the moon and lamented."

It is clear from these passages that the later Vedic literature throws no new light on the character of Trita as he appears in the RV. On the contrary, it is in most cases obvious that they are modifications meant to explain mythological traits of the RV. which were no longer intelligible.

I have already pointed out that the name of Trita does not occur in the *Nighāntus*. The conclusion to be drawn from the fact is, that Trita was not regarded by its author as an independent deity, but only as an epithet of some Vedic god. At any rate such must have been the opinion of Yāska who expresses himself as follows: "Most of the deities have whole hymns, sacrifices, and single verses addressed to them; some, however, are only mentioned incidentally. But even deities when they have special designations are sacrificed to, for instance, the *Vṛtra*-slayer Indra. Even these names are enumerated by some, but they are too many to enumerate completely. But when one of these has become a fixed appellation, by which a god is independently invoked (*e.g.* *jātavedas*), I will mention it."<sup>1</sup>

The references to Trita, which are to be found in post-Vedic literature, show even greater divergence from the oldest form of the myth. The name occurs several times in the *Mahābhārata*. Trita is there once spoken of as preparing Soma in a well. The three brothers Ekata, Dvita, and Trita, are also mentioned as sages, variously described as the sons of Gautama, Prajāpati, or Brahman. In the great Epic we have thus at least faint reminiscences of the Vedic myths, but even these disappear in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, where Trita only appears as one of the twelve sons of Manu.

<sup>1</sup> Nirukta VII. 13.

Strong confirmation of my identification of Trita with the third or lightning form of Agni, is furnished by the evidence of comparative philology. Tri-tá-s is the exact phonetic counterpart of the Greek τρί-τος, third. It preserves the Indo-European accent on the suffix -ta, as shown by the regular accentuation of the Sanskrit ordinal, *e.g.* catur-thá, sapta-tá, by Greek είκοσ-τός, and by Old High German sibun-to.<sup>1</sup> Tritá (AV. Trtá) and dvi-tá are, moreover, the forms on which the later and secondary ordinals, trt-íya (Zend thritya, Gothic thridyā,<sup>2</sup> Lat. tertius) and dvit-íya<sup>3</sup> are based.<sup>4</sup> Trita, therefore, originally meant 'the third,' but early became restricted in use as an epithet of one of the three forms of fire. Analogously the adjective çiva, 'auspicious,' came in the post-Vedic period, to be a name of the god Rudra. This restricted application as the name of an Indo-Iranian deity was facilitated by the existence beside it of the secondary trtíya (Zend thritya), which early came to be used as the regular ordinal. Similarly the older form of the ordinal corresponding to 'first' survives in German only as the substantive 'Fürst,' 'prince,' while the younger word 'erst' is in use as the regular ordinal. The cases are, however, not quite parallel, as in Sanskrit both words are derivatives of the same cardinal, tri, and their connexion would therefore be less likely to be forgotten. The Avesta possesses both forms also, thritya being the ordinal 'third' and Thrita a name. The latter seems to have preserved a reminiscence of the meaning 'third'; for in Yasna IX. 10,<sup>5</sup> Haoma,<sup>6</sup> in answer to a question, says: 'Thrita was the third man who prepared me for the corporeal world.'

<sup>1</sup> The t of which by Verner's law points to Proto-Germanic -dó; cp. Paul's *Grundriss*, p. 327; Brugmann, II. part i. p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> Which points to Proto-Germanic accentuation on the second syllable, as it would otherwise have been thrithya.

<sup>3</sup> The common adverb dvitá in the RV. is also based on dvi-ta, second.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Brugmann, *l.c.*

<sup>5</sup> SBE. vol. xxxi. p. 233.

<sup>6</sup> Sanskrit Soma.



Some scholars have already noticed that Trita may mean 'the third.' Thus BR. derive the word from 'tri,' and with reference to the single occurrence of the word in the plural,<sup>1</sup> remark that it "seems to designate a class of gods, perhaps 'the third' (*die Dritten*), i.e. those who dwell in the region of heaven." Grassmann, in his lexicon, says that it meant "originally 'the third,' like Greek *τρίτος*, and is, therefore, opposed to a Dvita." Brugmann<sup>2</sup> remarks that "by the side of *tr-t-íya* we have also the basis of this formation, *tri-tá*, used in the Veda as the designation of a deity, to whom a Dvita was opposed." Fick, in the last edition of his Comparative Dictionary,<sup>3</sup> doubtfully says that Trita is "the name of a Vedic deity, hardly to be derived from tri, three."

That the consciousness of the word having meant 'the third' still survives in the RV. is shown by the fact that Dvita, 'the second,' is mentioned along with Trita in VIII. 47, 16,<sup>4</sup> while Dvita, where the name occurs alone<sup>5</sup> designates, as we have seen, the second form of Agni or the Sun. The writers of the Brāhmanas still retained a feeling that these two words were connected with numerals, for they went the length of inventing the monstrous form 'eka-ta'<sup>6</sup> as the name of the first brother of Dvita and Trita, sons of Agni.<sup>7</sup>

The only passage in which the word *Tritá* occurs in the plural I have reserved till now, on the ground that it may best be dealt with at this stage.

(41) VI. 44 (Indra hymn<sup>8</sup>), 23 :

Ayám akrnod Uśasaḥ supátnīr,  
 Ayám Sūrye adadhāj jyótir antáh,  
 Ayám tridhātu divi rocanésu  
 tritésu vindad amṛtam nīgūlham.

<sup>1</sup> See (41) below.

<sup>2</sup> *Grundriss*, vol. ii. part i. p. 229 *sub fine*.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i. p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> See (40) above.

<sup>5</sup> V. 18, 2 : see above p. 463.

<sup>6</sup> As it were the 'One-th.'

<sup>7</sup> See above p. 479.

<sup>8</sup> The last three stanzas (22-24), however, being in praise of Soma.

He<sup>1</sup> made the Dawns possessed of an excellent spouse,<sup>2</sup> he placed the light within the sun,<sup>3</sup> he found the three-fold ambrosia concealed in heaven in the third bright regions.

Soma as bracing Indra for the fray is described as both causing the sun to shine after the clouds of the storm have cleared away, and finding the hidden nectar in the remote region of the heavens, in other words releasing the fertilizing rain.<sup>4</sup>

'Tritésu' I here take to be a survival of the simple ordinal otherwise used only as an epithet of Agni. Ludwig, Grassmann, and Hillebrandt<sup>5</sup> all translate the word by 'third' and Griffith by 'three.'<sup>6</sup> An attribute with rocanésu would naturally be used to balance tridhātu with amṛtam. That it should have the sense of the numeral 'third' is also favoured by the obvious antithesis<sup>7</sup> to tri-dhātu.<sup>8</sup> Again, the combination trī(ni) rocanā(ni) is frequent in the RV.<sup>9</sup> In II. 27, 9, the Ādityas are described as supporting the 'three bright realms celestial' (trī rocanā divyā).<sup>10</sup> This would almost exactly correspond to divī rocanésu tritésu, 'in the heavens, in the bright regions (which are) the third.'<sup>11</sup> We have a still closer parallel in I. 105, 5: amī yé devā sthāna trisú ā rocané divāh, 'ye gods who dwell in the three bright regions of heaven,' and in VIII. 69, 3: jánman devānām víças trisú ā rocané

<sup>1</sup> Soma.

<sup>2</sup> The Sun, whose wife is the Dawn (sūryasya yósā) in RV. VII. 75, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. above (31) 'Só . . . arocayat . . . Sūryam.'

<sup>4</sup> Cp. (31) and (34).

<sup>5</sup> V.M. p. 312. None of the interpreters give a reason for this rendering.

<sup>6</sup> Sāyana translates 'among the shining Tritas,' taking rocanesu as an adjective and explaining tritesu by gods pervading the third region (trītye sthāne tatesu vistrītesu deveṣu).

<sup>7</sup> Cp. 'Trīni Tritāsyā' (34).

<sup>8</sup> Amṛta or Soma is called threefold because of its three ingredients—juice, milk, and water.

<sup>9</sup> See I. 102, 8; I. 149, 4; IV. 53, 5; V. 61, 1; V. 81, 4.

<sup>10</sup> The same three words occur in V. 29, 1.

<sup>11</sup> The three earths being the first, and the three atmospheric regions (trīni rajāmsi) being the second.

diváh, 'the dwellers in the birthplace of the gods, in the three bright regions of heaven.' I have here translated 'in the three bright regions,' because we have the euphonic abbreviation for trisú á rocanésu pointed out by Roth,<sup>1</sup> which may here be due to the exigencies of metre.

Even supposing, however, that this interpretation of tritésu (which would otherwise have to be taken as 'among the Tritas or lightnings') were wrong, our conclusion as to the meaning of Trita would in no degree be invalidated.

It now only remains to consider what light the Avesta is capable of throwing on the subject of our investigations. In the first place, we must recognize that a cardinal feature of the mythology of the Indo-Iranian period is the war of nature as waged in the thunderstorm, which is conceived as a conflict between a storm-fiend on the one hand and a storm-god on the other.<sup>2</sup>

In the Avesta this fight is carried on between Azi Dahāka, the fiendish serpent,<sup>3</sup> and Ātar, fire.<sup>4</sup> The battle-field is the atmospheric sea, and the object of the conflict is the attainment of the heavenly light<sup>5</sup> (hvarenō). In the RV. the combatants are, on the one hand, the serpent Ahi (generally, ~~Vrtra~~ to whom, as to the other demons of drought, the term dāsá 'fiend,' or dāsa 'fiendish,' is often applied), who carries off the dawns or the heavenly streams (generally spoken of as milch-cows), and imprisons them in the folds of the cloud, and on the other hand either Agni Vrtra-han or Indra Vrtra-han, or less frequently Trita Āptya, who are armed with the thunderbolt.

It is important to note that the name Verethraghna (=Skt. Vrtra-ghna) appears in the Avesta, though without

<sup>1</sup> Transactions of the Oriental Congress at Vienna, Aryan section, pp. 1-10.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Darmesteter, SBE. vol. iv. p. lxii.

<sup>3</sup> Azi=Skt. ahi 'serpent,' dahāka allied to Skt. dāsa 'fiend.' The latter term is in (6) applied to the three-headed six-eyed fiend.

<sup>4</sup> Described both as the weapon of Ahura (=Skt. asura), Heaven, and as his son. Cp. Darmesteter, *l.c.*

<sup>5</sup> Cp. svar-jit 'light-winning,' svar-vid 'light-finding' (battle, Indra, etc.), in the RV.

the mythical features of a storm-god. But that it was once primarily an epithet of the fire-god is evident from the fact that in the Avesta he is the genius of Victory, whose original nature was so little forgotten that he was worshipped on earth as a fire, regarded as an emanation of the celestial fire.<sup>1</sup> This is the Bahrām<sup>2</sup> fire, which, wherever Parsis are settled is still everlastingly preserved 'with more than Vestal care.'<sup>3</sup>

We have already seen that Thrīta is, in the Avesta, the name which corresponds to the Vedic Trita. He is mentioned only twice. He is no longer a god in the Avesta, appearing only in the character of a man. In Yasna IX. 10, Haoma (=Skt. Soma) interrogated by Zarathustra as to who was the third man who prepared him (Haoma) for the corporeal world, replies: "Thrīta was the third man who prepared me for the corporeal world."<sup>4</sup> The first had already been stated to be Vīvanghvāt (=Skt. Vivasvat) and the second Āthwya (=Skt. Āptya).

In the Vendīdād (Fargard, XX. 2), Thrīta is described as the first healer, Ahura Mazda having brought down to him ten thousand healing plants which grow around the white Haoma,<sup>5</sup> the tree of immortality.<sup>6</sup> Ahura Mazda interrogated by Zarathustra, answers: "Thrīta it was who first of the healthful, the wise, the happy, the wealthy, the strong men of yore, drove back sickness to sickness, drove back death to death, and first turned away the point of the poniard and the fire of fever from the bodies of mortals."<sup>7</sup>

The above two passages in the Avesta obviously represent a late form of an old Indo-Iranian myth. For on the one

<sup>1</sup> SBE. vol. iv. p. lxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Persian, through vāhrām, varahrān, from Verethraghna.

<sup>3</sup> SBE. vol. iv. p. lxxxix.

<sup>4</sup> Mills, SBE. vol. xxxi. p. 233.

<sup>5</sup> In the Avesta there are two kinds of Haoma, the yellow earthly Haoma, the king of healing plants, and the white Haoma, or Gaokerena, which grows in the midst of the atmospheric sea and furnishes the drink of immortality (SBE. vol. iv. p. lxix.). So in the RV. we have the terrestrial Soma and that which is prepared by Trita in the heavens.

<sup>6</sup> SBE. vol. iv. p. 219.

<sup>7</sup> SBE. vol. iv. p. 220.

hand Thrīta is no longer a god, while on the other the epithet Āptya having become dissociated from him has in the form of Āthwya become the name of another man (the second who prepared Haoma for the corporeal world). Nevertheless, one or two conclusions of some importance can be drawn from these mythological waifs. It is clear that Thrīta was the third of a certain group of three, and that he brought down the celestial Soma to earth. The conception of his having been the first healer, who drove back disease and death, is in all probability a reminiscence of his having at an earlier stage been regarded as the destroyer of the poisonous serpent. All this confirms our conclusion, independently arrived at, that Thrīta was originally the third form of Agni who released the pent-up fertilizing waters, thus putting an end to the drought, or in mythological language, slew Vrtra, set free the cows, prepared and brought down to earth the celestial Soma.

In one obscure passage of the RV.<sup>1</sup> a personage called Traitana is represented as endeavouring to strike off the head of an adversary. Both the name and the character (as far as the latter can be gathered from a stray allusion like this) seem to be allied to those of Trita. Corresponding to this name we find in the Avesta that of Thraetaona, the son of Āthwya,<sup>2</sup> who is mentioned thirteen times. He (and not Thrīta) plays the part of Trita Āptya in slaying the fiendish serpent Azi Dahāka, 'the three-mouthed, three-headed, six-eyed'<sup>3</sup> most dreadful demon created by Angra

<sup>1</sup> I. 158, 5.

<sup>2</sup> He probably came to be regarded as the son of Āthwya, because that word, the original meaning of which (= āptya) had been forgotten, seemed like a patronymic formation. Bartholomae, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, I. pp. 180-2, thinks in opposition to Pischel, V.S. I. 186, that the original form of the word was āptiā (not āptiā). Now in the form of a myth, which is manifestly late and corrupt, like the present one in the Avesta, a phonetic corruption is much more likely to occur than in the form which is older and clearly intelligible in its origin, as is here the case in the RV. Not only is the etymology of Āptya obviously supported by Trita's connexion with the waters, but that connexion is emphatically corroborated by the myth of the conflict between Thraetaona and Azi Dahāka in the Avesta itself. The meaning of Āptya is absolutely consistent with the original form of the myth, while āptiā seems to have no meaning and no connexion with anything.

<sup>3</sup> In the RV. the demon slain by Trita is in (5) called three-headed, and in (6) three-headed and six-eyed.

Mainyu.'<sup>1</sup> The battle-field is the four-cornered Varena,<sup>2</sup> or the celestial ocean. It may be added that the Fravashi (or departed soul) of Thraetaona is invoked to stand against itch, hot fever, humours, cold fever, incontineny, to stand against the evil done by the serpent.<sup>3</sup> This also corresponds to the character of Thrīta as the great healer.

The corroborative evidence of the Avesta thus brings out clearly the two essential points in Trīta Āptya's nature, that he was on the one hand the slayer of the demon of drought and darkness, and on the other the celestial priest who poured the heavenly Soma in the form of fertilizing rain upon the earth. These two sides of his character, however, evidently refer in their origin to a single action — the release of the pent-up waters by lightning. All the remaining details about Trīta, such as his remoteness in the heavens, or his concealment in a well, are merely mythological accretions naturally growing out of the central idea.

We thus find that the cumulative evidence of the Rigveda, of comparative philology, and of the Avesta, combine to prove that Trīta in his original nature was the third or lightning form of the god of fire. This was his character in the Indo-Iranian period. For traces of his essential nature are retained by Thrīta in the Avesta, his functions being represented by the cognate Thraetaona Āthwya, by Verethraghna, the Vṛtra-killer, and by Ātar, fire, while in the RV. his character as the god of lightning is still sufficiently clear. But owing to the supreme position attained by Ahura Mazda in the Zoroastrian religion, the original greatness of Trīta has become greatly obscured in the Avesta, while in the RV. we already find him to a great extent supplanted by another god, who has risen to the chief place among the Vedic deities. This god, Indra,<sup>4</sup> can only

<sup>1</sup> SBE. vol. iv. p. lxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Skt. Varuna, i.e. the four-sided heavens.

<sup>3</sup> SBE. vol. iv. p. 221.

<sup>4</sup> No satisfactory etymology of this name has yet been found. Cp. Jacobi in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxi, pp. 316-19.

have occupied a very minor position in the Indo-Iranian period, for he is only mentioned twice in the Avesta as a demon, and that only of a subordinate kind. Darmesteter says of Indra in the Avesta that "it is a name or epithet of fire as destructive."<sup>1</sup> It is not hard to understand that such a name as being more distinctive than the ordinal epithet 'the Third,' should in the period of the RV. have for the most part taken the place of the latter and almost monopolised the epithet 'Vrtra-han.'<sup>2</sup>

In conclusion, I may hint at the possibility of Trita having been the name of the god of lightning even in the Indo-European period. The Germanic god of storm and battle,<sup>3</sup> Odhin (or Wōdan)<sup>4</sup> bears in the Old Norse mythology the epithet Thridhi,<sup>5</sup> the third (= Gothic thridya, Skt. trtīya), as well as Tveggi, the second.<sup>6</sup> This epithet may quite possibly preserve a reminiscence of an ancient name of the god of fire in his capacity of deity of the thunderstorm.

<sup>1</sup> SBE. vol. iv. p. lxxii.

<sup>2</sup> As we have seen (p. 472) this epithet is applied to Indra over seventy times and to Agni only sixteen times in the RV.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Mogk in Paul's *Grundriss*, p. 1075.

<sup>4</sup> Originally an adjectival derivative (from a base corresponding to Skt. vāta, wind) used as an epithet of the god of heaven, Tiu (= Skt. Dyū, Gk. Zeus). Cp. Mogk, *ib.* p. 1070.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 2nd ed. p. 148; Max Müller, SBE. xxxii. p. 305, footnote.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. Dvīta beside Trita.

## ABBREVIATIONS.

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- AIL. = Altindisches Leben.  
 AIS. = Altindische Syntax.  
 AV. = Atharva Veda.  
 BR. = Böhtlingk and Roth's large St. Petersburg Dictionary.  
 ÇB. = Çatapatha Brāhmana.  
 MS. = Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā.  
 RV. = Rigveda.  
 R. V. = Religion Védique.  
 SV. = Sāma Veda.  
 TB. = Taittiriya Brāhmana.  
 TS. = Taittiriya Samhitā.  
 V.M. = Vedische Mythologie.  
 YV. = Yajur Veda.  
 ZMG. = Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
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## TRANSLITERATION.

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The palatals are transliterated thus:—

च c, छ ch, ज j, झ jh, ञ ñ, श ष;

The linguals thus:—

ट t, ठ th, ड d, ढ dh, ण n, ऋ r, ष s.

ḥ = Visarga; m = ordinary Anusvāra; ṁ = Anusvāra representing the final n after long vowels before vowels.



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